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Toronto, 1932.

A P P E A L

TO THE

BRITISH NATION,

g.c. g.c. g.c.

PRICE 3s.

APPEL
A LA
NATION ANGLAISE

SUR LE TRAITEMENT ÉPROUVÉ

PAR
NAPOLÉON BUONAPARTE
DANS
L'ISLE DE SAINTE-HÉLÈNE.

PAR M. SANTINI,
HUISSIER DU CABINET DE L'EMPEREUR.

Suivi de la
LETTRE
ADRESSÉE
A SIR HUDSON LOWE.

TROISIÈME EDITION,
AUGMENTÉE D'UNE PRÉFACE, ETC. ETC.

LONDRES :
Imprimé par Schulze et Dean, 13, Poland Street,
POUR MM. RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1817.

177
AN
APPEAL
TO THE
BRITISH NATION

ON THE
Treatment Experienced by
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE
IN
THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.

By M. SANTINI,
HUISSIER DU CABINET DE L'EMPEREUR.

With
An Authentic Copy
OF THE
OFFICIAL MEMOIR,
DICTATED BY NAPOLEON,
AND
DELIVERED TO SIR HUDSON LOWE.

THIRD EDITION,
AUGMENTED WITH A PREFACE, &c. &c.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR RIDGWAYS, PICCADILLY.

1817.



638562

16.7.56

PRÉFACE.

JE viens de lire une lettre de John Wallis dans les journaux. Voici mes observations: A l'égard de la *quantité* du vin, je trouve son rapport presque exact; mais ce qu'il n'a pas dit, c'est *le nombre des personnes* qui le boivent, non plus que l'insuffisance et souvent la mauvaise qualité de la nourriture. Il a été, sans-doute, trompé par ces faibles notions qu'on lui a communiquées à Sainte-Hélène.

Quant aux *nombre des bouteilles* comparé au nombre des personnes, on peut juger que ce n'est pas assez: l'Empereur est obligé d'acheter du vin avec le peu d'argent qui lui reste de la vente de son argenterie, et laquelle il a vendu *exprès* pour aider aux dépenses de sa table. On reçoit six bouteilles de Claret, dix-neuf de vin du Cap,

See. P. 157. Captivity of Napoleon
by Forster. Vol 2.

PREFACE.

ERRATA—PREFACE.

- Page 7, line 3rd from bottom, *thirty-seven* read *thirty-six*.
9, 2, *three* read *four*.
ib. 5, insert *one foot-boy*.
ib. 7, *forty-one* read *fifty*.
15, omission—Mr. Wallis in his bill of fare gives *thirty*
eggs; I protest that the number was
never more than *eighteen*.

letter
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I find
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When the *number of bottles* is compared with the *number of persons*, it will be seen that the allowance is not sufficient. The Emperor is obliged to purchase wine with the little money that still remains from the sale of his plate, and which he sold *expressly* to maintain his table. The wine received consists of six bottles of Cla-



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PREFACE.

I HAVE just read in the newspapers a letter signed John Wallis. The following are my observations upon it :

With regard to the quantity of wine, I find his statement nearly correct, but he has not stated the *number of persons* who partook of it ; in the same manner he has failed to mention the insufficiency and frequent bad quality of the provisions. He has doubtless been deceived by the imperfect information afforded him at St. Helena.

When the *number of bottles* is compared with the *number of persons*, it will be seen that the allowance is not sufficient. The Emperor is obliged to purchase wine with the little money that still remains from the sale of his plate, and which he sold *expressly* to maintain his table. The wine received consists of six bottles of Cla-

six de Ténérif, de la plus mauvaise qualité, une de Madère, et une de Constance.

Il faut partager les six bouteilles de Claret sus-nommées entre huit personnes : sans compter les enfans savoir, l'Empereur, le Maréchal, Mme. Bertrand et *ses trois enfans*, le général Montholon et *deux enfans*, le Comte Las Casas et son *fils âgé de quinze à seize ans*, le général Gourgaud et M. le chef d'escadron Poniatowski.

Comment ces six bouteilles suffiraient-elles à un tel nombre de personnes accoutumées à toutes les aisances de la vie dans une cour, et dans une ville telle que Paris. Restent deux bouteilles de Constance et Madère, pour le dessert. C'est vrai que l'Empereur n'en porte pas la plainte. Il n'a jamais été ni buveur, ni *gourmand* ; mais l'insuffisance des rations n'est pas moins un sujet de grief.

En ce qui concerne 19 bouteilles du Cap et six de Ténérif, sur cette *grande* quantité, dont M. John Wallis fait mention, il faut *abreuver trente-sept* personnes de service près de S. M. ou de sa suite ; savoir, (je parle du moment de mon départ) *douze domestiques* Français appartenant à l'Empereur, *quatre* au maréchal Ber-

ret, nineteen of Cape, six of Tenerif, of the worst quality, one of Madeira, and one of Constantia.

The six bottles of Claret mentioned above had to be divided between *eight* persons, (without reckoning the children) namely, the Emperor, the Marshall and Madame Bertrand, *and their three children*, General and Madame Montholon, and *two children*, Count Las Casas and *his son*, aged between *fifteen and sixteen*, General Gourgaud, and the Chef d'Escadron Poniatowski.

How can these six bottles be regarded as sufficient for such a number of persons, accustomed to all the comforts of life in a court, and in such a city as Paris. One bottle of Constantia and of Madeira remain for the desert. It is true that the Emperor never complained. He never was a drunkard or a *glutton*; but the inadequacy of the allowance is no less a proper subject of remonstrance.

With regard to the *nineteen* bottles of Cape wine and *six* of Teneriff, of which Mr. John Wallis makes mention, this *great* quantity must moisten the lips of *thirty-seven persons* in the service of his Majesty, or in his suite, viz. (I speak of the period of my departure), *twelve* ser-

trand, *trois* au général Montholon, *un* au comte Las Casas, *un* au général Gourgaud, *quatre* à l'écurie, *deux* à l'argenterie, *un* à l'office, *deux* à la cuisine, *deux* valets de pied, *deux* jardiniers, lesquels avec les maîtres et leurs enfans font, ~~quarante-une~~ ⁵⁰ personnes, pour *trente-trois* bouteilles de vin. On n'a jamais eu *de la biere, que dans le temps de l'amiral Cockburn, l'amiral lui-même sans-doute en est instruit.*

Tout le temps que j'ai été à Longwood, le jardin n'a rien produit pour l'Empereur ; tout y était mangé par les bœufs et les chevaux de la Compagnie des Indes, auxquels le jardin est continuellement ouvert. Il y avait, à la vérité, deux jardiniers ; il semblait que c'était pour qu'on crût qu'il y avait un jardin. Mais rien ne s'y conservait, tout étant dévoré par ses animaux,

On en a retréci les limites, pour que l'Empereur n'eut *qu'un quart de lieue* à se promener, au lieu de *quatre* lieues qu'on lui accorde dans les journaux, *et qu'il avait dans le temps de l'amiral Cockburn.* Je fais la demande aux témoignages de tous les habitans et militaires de l'île. Je *fais la demande à l'honneur de l'amiral Cockburn.*

vants of the Emperor, *four* of Marshal Bertrand, *three* of General Montholon, *one* of Count Las Casas, *one* of General Gourgaud, *four* belonging to the stable, *two* to the plate, *one* to the office, *two* to the kitchen, *two* footmen, and *two* gardeners, making, with their masters and their children, ~~forty-one~~ ⁵⁰ persons for *thirty-three* bottles of wine.

We never had any beer except in the time of Admiral Cockburn ; and the Admiral himself doubtless knows this.

During the whole of the time that I was at Longwood, the garden produced nothing for the Emperor. Every thing was devoured by oxen and horses belonging to the East India Company to which the garden was constantly open. There were indeed two gardeners ; it seems therefore that it was intended there should be a garden. But nothing could be preserved ; all was consumed by these animals.

The limits of the Emperor's promenade was contracted, and he was only allowed to go the distance of *a quarter of a league*, instead of *four leagues*, as the Journals have stated, and which he was permitted to do in the time of Admiral

Pour les légumes que M. John Wallis dit être fournis par M. Balcomb, il n'y en a jamais assez, et ils sont toujours de la plus mauvaise qualité, quoique le chef d'état-major les visite avant l'envoi; tout le temps que j'ai été à Longwood, si l'Empereur a pu en avoir de bons, ç'a été au jardinier de la Compagnie des Indes qu'il les doit, et il les a *payés de son argent*.

M. John Wallis dit qu'on donne vingt-cinq livres de pain par jour. On l'a pesé plusieurs fois en présence du Capitaine Popleton; on n'a jamais trouvé que de quinze à dix-huit livres, et il est toujours *cuit à moitié et plein de vers dégoûtans*.

Soixante-cinq livres de bœuf; je crois cela exact; mais cette viande n'est pas toujours *mangeable*, et souvent elle est *détestable*. Puisque M. John Wallis a été à Sainte-Hélène, il aurait

Cockburn. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to all the inhabitants and military officers on the island—I appeal to *the honour of Admiral Cockburn*.

With regard to the vegetables, which Mr. John Wallis says are furnished by Mr. Balcomb, they have always been insufficient, and of the very worst quality, although the Chief of the General Staff inspects them before they are sent in. During the time I was at Longwood, the Emperor indeed procured good vegetables, but he was indebted for them to the gardener of the East India Company, and paid for them *out of his own pocket*.

Mr. John Wallis asserts, that there is a daily allowance of *twenty-five* pounds of bread. The bread has frequently been weighed in the presence of Captain Popleton; there never has been more than from fifteen to eighteen pounds, which was but *half baked, and filled with disgusting maggots*.

Sixty-five pounds of beef! I believe that is correct; but this meat was not always *eatable*, and very frequently *loathsome*. Since Mr. John Wallis has been at St. Helena, he might have

dû voir de ses propres yeux que, plusieurs fois, de la viande fut *renvoyée* comme de très-mauvaise qualité, et que *jamais elle ne fut remplacée* ; il n'aurait pas dû omettre cette vérité, à moins qu'elle ne lui ait été cachée par ceux qu'il interrogea. Ce qui est sûr c'est qu'il n'a pas tout vu.

John Wallis dit *trente-six* livres de mouton, sans ajouter de très-mauvaise qualité, et qu'on ne lui accorde *qu'un mouton tous les deux jours*, et que ce mouton ne pèse pas communément *trente* livres.

Puisque M. John Wallis n'a rien négligé pour s'instruire, il aurait pu apprendre que le docteur O'Meara renvoya, plusieurs fois, le *bœuf* et le mouton, dans la crainte qu'ils n'empestassent l'Empereur et sa suite.

Quant aux *six* poulets, le rapport est vrai ; mais il oublie qu'il en faut *deux* de Sainte-Hélène pour *un* d'Europe. Ce qui réduit la ration des *six* poulets véritablement à *trois*. L'Empereur est obligé d'en faire acheter *trois* de gros-seur raisonnable par supplément.

Et pour les oies et les dindons, l'Empereur

seen that meat was frequently *sent back* on account of its bad quality, and have learned that it *never was replaced*; he would not have omitted mentioning this fact, had it not been concealed from him by those he interrogated. It is, however, evident that he did not see every thing.

John Wallis mentions *thirty-six* pounds of mutton, without adding that it is of very bad quality, and that the Emperor is allowed but *one sheep every two days*, and that *this sheep* generally weighs but *thirty* pounds.

Since Mr. John Wallis neglected no opportunity of gaining information, he should have been told that *Dr. O'Meara* several times sent back the *beef and mutton*, being *fearful* that such meat might produce *infection in the Emperor and his suite*.

As to the *six* fowls, the report is true; but he forgot that one *fowl* in Europe is as much as *three* at St. Helena; consequently the ration of *six* fowls is in reality reduced to *three*. The Emperor is obliged to purchase *three* of a reasonable size by way of supplement.

As for the geese and turkies, the Emperor

en reçoit, mais pas tous les jours; son argent en fournit le plus souvent sa table.

Huit livres de beurre et *deux* livres de lard. Très-vrai. Mais M. John Wallis a oublié de dire que c'est insuffisant, et qu'il est souvent si rance qu'on ne peut l'employer.

Il met *cinq* livres de cassonade; vrai. *Deux* livres de sucre blanc. Il se passe du dernier pendant *quinze et vingt* jours, et n'a que du très-jaune appelé du sucre *candi*.

On est souvent obligé d'aller mendier de la bougie chez le capitaine Poppleton, comme j'ai déjà dit dans ma relation.

Quand j'arrivai à Londres, je fus assailli de questions sur l'état brillant de l'Empereur dans l'île Sainte-Hélène. Qu'on se figure ma surprise après ce que j'avais vu.

L'attachement à la vérité et mon maître, me fit répondre tout ce que j'ai imprimé depuis. Je persiste dans tout ce que le devoir d'un homme vrai m'a porté à révéler. Je ne *demande pas mieux, que d'être appelé en témoignage*

has received them, but not every day and the table is generally furnished with his own money.

Eight pounds of butter and *two* pounds of lard! Very true. But Mr. John Wallis forgot to say that this quantity is insufficient, and that it is frequently so rancid that it cannot be made use of.

He sets down five pounds of moist sugar—True.—*Two* pounds of white sugar. The latter has sometimes not been sent for *fifteen or twenty days*, and a very yellow kind, called *sugar candy*, substituted for it.

We have frequently been obliged to beg candles of *Captain Poppleton*, as I have already mentioned in my narrative.

On my arrival in London I was assailed by questions concerning the splendid condition of the Emperor at the island of St. Helena. My astonishment may be conjectured after what I had witnessed. Attachment to truth and my master has induced me to make known all that I have printed. I persist in all the statements which the duty of an honest man has called upon me to reveal. I only wish to be *required*

de tout ce qui se passa à Ste.-Hélène, pendant l'année que j'y ai passé et dont j'ai fait le récit. J'atteste que je n'ai que deux objets, le premier, la *vérité* utile à mon maître, le second l'*honneur* d'une nation telle que l'Angleterre, qui ne peut laisser éprouver de telles duretés à son illustre prisonnier qu'autant qu'elle les ignore.

On peut bien présenter des calculs *imaginaires* ou des ordres qu'on *n'a pas exécuté*, mais moi je n'offre que le tableau des choses réelles et que j'ai vu de mes propres yeux.

Je ne demande pas la *confiance* à mes paroles, parce que je n'ai pas le droit d'y prétendre faute des amis dans ce pays pour faire connaître ma loyauté, mais je demande l'examen pour constater ou contredire mes paroles.

to prove all that took place at St. Helena, during the year that I lived there, and the recital of which I have drawn up. I declare that I have only two objects; first, the truth, which is useful to my master; secondly, the honour of a nation like England, which would never suffer such severities to be inflicted on its illustrious prisoner, unless ignorance with respect to his situation prevailed.

Imaginary calculations and orders, which have never been executed, may be brought forward; for my part, I only present the picture of things as they actually were, and of which I was an eye-witness.

I do not require that confidence should be placed in my statement. I have no right to expect it since I possess no friends in this country who can answer for my credibility; but I require examination either to prove or disprove the truth of what I say.

A P P E L

A LA

NATION BRITANNIQUE,

&c. &c. &c.

Si j'avais pu balancer à remplir le devoir de parler de mon malheureux maître, j'y eusse bientôt été encouragé en voyant les sentimens généreux et compatissans que mon premier récit de ses souffrances excitait dans le cœur des Anglais, et je suis bien persuadé qu'une telle nation n'aura qu'à connaître les faits pour adoucir un traitement qui non-seulement rend amère, mais menace la vie de mon maître, et laisserait une tache au pays auquel il se rendit par choix et plein de confiance en son honneur et en sa magnanimité.

Je prendrai garde d'abuser de la pitié de ceux à qui je m'adresse, par l'exagération ou le

AN

APPEAL

TO THE

BRITISH NATION,

&c. &c. &c.



IF any doubts could have existed in my mind as to the execution of the duty I owed my unfortunate master, these doubts would have been removed by the generous feelings which every Englishman has expressed to whom I have related the story of his sufferings. It is now manifest to me, that the British nation has only to know the facts I am about to state for the amelioration of that treatment, which not only imbitters his existence, but which menaces life itself, and affixes a deep stain on the character of a country to whose officers he surrendered himself, in the confidence of its honour and magnanimity.

I shall take care not to abuse the feelings of those I address by an exaggerated statement.

mensonge. Je me bornerai à raconter des faits appuyés de documens à leur suite. En me décidant à cette mesure, je me repose sur la protection de la nation anglaise, ayant la conscience de n'être coupable d'aucune calomnie, et même de l'intention d'offenser qui que ce soit. J'ai pensé qu'un appel à l'humanité et aux lois des nations serait écouté, quoiqu'il soit fait par un homme né dans une humble condition, en faveur de la grandeur malheureuse.

Je suis natif de l'île de Corse ; j'ai pris du service, à l'âge de treize ans, dans le bataillon des tirailleurs de mon pays ; j'ai assisté aux batailles d'Ulm, d'Austerlitz, de Jéna, de Preussisch-Elau, de Friedland, de Ratisbonne, d'Eckmuhl, d'Aspern, d'Ypersberg, de Wagram, et enfin à la bataille de Polosk, après laquelle je quittai le métier de soldat pour celui de courrier. Quand l'Empereur quitta Fontainebleau pour l'île d'Elbe, je me décidai à le suivre, sans m'inquiéter *durang* où je pourrais lui continuer mes services. Peu de temps après notre arrivée, m'étant présenté à l'Empereur, il reconnut un ancien soldat qui avait toujours fait son devoir, et il eut la

I shall confine myself to a strict relation of facts, supported by the document which is annexed. In taking this measure, I rely on the protection of the English nation, as I have not been guilty of any calumny, or intended offence, and I trust an appeal to humanity and the laws of nations will not be slighted or rejected, because it is made by an humble individual in favour of unfortunate greatness.

I am a native of the Island of Corsica ; at the age of thirteen I entered the military service in the battalion of Corsican sharp-shooters. I was present at the battles of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Prussian Elau, Friedland, Ratisbonn, Eckmuhl, Aspern, Ypersberg, Wagram, and, finally, at the battle of Polosk, after which I quitted the profession of a soldier for that of a courier. When the Emperor departed from Fontainebleau, for the Island of Elba, I determined on following him without feeling any concern about the rank in which I might continue my services. A short time after our arrival I was presented to the Emperor. He re-

bonté de m'accorder la place d'*huissier* de son cabinet et gardien du porte-feuille. Je rentrai en France, en 1815, à la suite de l'Empereur, et après la bataille de Waterloo, je l'accompagnai à Rochefort et à bord du vaisseau anglais le *Bel-lérophon*. Enfin, je fus du petit nombre de fidèles serviteurs de Sa Majesté, qui eurent le bonheur de le suivre à Ste.-Hélène, où mon service, près de sa personne, dura près d'un an.

A son arrivée, l'Empereur se logea dans la maison d'un négociant nommé Balcombe, et y passa environ deux mois: elle n'était ni propre, ni commode; mais ce n'était pas la faute du chevalier Cockburn. Dans toutes les occasions, il concilia le devoir de sa place avec les égards et la délicatesse dus au malheur et au rang de son auguste prisonnier.

Delà, l'Empereur fut transféré à Longwood, ferme de la Compagnie des Indes, chétif asile où il est encore. Sa chambre à coucher est à peine

cognized an old soldier who had never failed in the fulfilment of his duty, and had the goodness to grant me the places of messenger to his cabinet and keeper of his port-folio. I returned to France, in 1815, in the suite of the Emperor, and, after the battle of Waterloo, I accompanied him to Rochefort, and on board the English ship the *Bellerophon*. Finally, I was one of the few faithful servants of His Majesty, who had the happiness to follow him to St. Helena, where, for nearly a year, I served near his person.

The Emperor, on his arrival, resided in the house of a merchant named Balcombe, where he remained for about two months : Mr. Balcombe's house was neither suitable nor convenient ; but for this Sir George Cockburn was in no way blamable. On every occasion he endeavoured to conciliate the duties of his office with the respect and delicacy which were due to the rank and misfortunes of his august prisoner.

From thence the Emperor was transferred to Longwood, which was once a farm belonging to the East-India Company. In this wretched

assez grande pour un lit et quelques chaises. Le toit de cette baraque est en papier goudronné, qui commence à pourrir, et laisse filtrer l'eau des pluies et des rosées. Avec tant d'inconvéniens, la maison est encore infectée de rats, qui dévorent tout; tout le linge de l'Empereur, même celui qui lui fut envoyé d'Angleterre, en a été rongé, et il est complètement abîmé; faute d'armoire, on le laisse exposé sur le plancher, et lorsque l'Empereur est à dîner, on les voit parcourir l'appartement, et même passer entre ses jambes.

Il est tout-à-fait faux qu'il ait été construit une maison pour l'Empereur, laquelle, comme on l'a dit ici, aurait été envoyée d'Angleterre. A la vérité, il y est arrivé quelques charpentes, mais le gouverneur a déclaré qu'aucune maison ne serait bâtie avant trois ou quatre ans.

L'Empereur établi à Longwood, le chevalier Cockburn apporta l'économie la plus expresse dans chaque branche de la dépense; l'Empereur, cependant, ne manqua jamais du néces-

asylum he still remains. His sleeping chamber is scarcely large enough to contain a bed and a few chairs. The roof of this hovel consists of paper, coated with pitch, which is beginning to rot, and through which the rain-water and dew penetrate. In addition to all these inconveniences, the house is infested by rats who devour every thing that they can reach ! All the Emperor's linen, even that which was lately sent from England, has been gnawed and completely destroyed by them. For want of closets, the linen is necessarily exposed upon the floor. When the Emperor is at dinner, the rats run about the apartment, and even creep between his feet.

The report of a house having been built for the Emperor, which, it has been said, was sent from England, is entirely false. Some pieces of timber work have, indeed, arrived ; but the governor declared that a house cannot be built in less than three or four years.

When the Emperor was established at Longwood, Sir G. Cockburn introduced the most exact oeconomy into every branch of the expenditure. The Emperor, however, never

saire, et l'amiral avait toujours soin qu'on ne refusât rien de ce qui était indispensable, conformément au local, à la personne de l'Empereur, et au devoir dont il fut responsable.

Ce n'est pas de l'économie que le nouveau gouverneur a apporté dans la maison de l'Empereur, *c'est la disette.*

On se rappelle que le gouverneur s'est seul chargé de l'entretien de Napoléon et de sa suite. Les provisions qu'il fournit sont toujours en quantité trop petite, et encore, bien souvent, sont-elles de mauvaise qualité. Lorsque, dans ce dernier cas, le maître-d'hôtel de l'Empereur (Cipriani) s'est vu forcé de les renvoyer, elles n'ont jamais été remplacées par d'autres qui fussent mangeables, et il a fallu attendre jusqu'au lendemain pour la provision journalière.

Il est arrivé bien souvent qu'étant tout-à-fait dépourvu de viande pour le dîner de l'Empereur, le maître-d'hôtel m'envoya acheter un mouton, que je payai *quatre guinées*, et bien des fois je ne pus trouver que du *porc*, pour en faire de la soupe.

wanted what was necessary, and the Admiral always took care that nothing should be refused which, with due regard to the locality, the person of the Emperor, and his duty, was indispensable.

It is not, however, œconomy which the *new* Governor has introduced into the household of the Emperor, *it is absolute want.*

It is to be recollected the Governor took upon himself the entire charge of the maintenance of Napoleon and his suite ; but the provisions he furnishes are always in too small a quantity, and also, very often, of bad quality. In the latter case, when the Emperor's house-steward (Cipriani) has found himself under the necessity of sending back the provisions, the articles are never replaced by others more fit for use, and it has been necessary to wait until the following day for a supply.

It has often happened that, on finding himself without any butchers' meat for the Emperor's table, the steward has sent me to purchase a sheep, for which I have paid *four guineas*, and often could only procure *pork* for making soup.

Le capitaine Poppleton, du cinquante-troisième régiment, chargé de la surveillance de l'Empereur, s'il est homme d'honneur, comme je le crois, pourra attester qu'il prêta souvent de la bougie pour éclairer cette demeure de désolation, comme aussi du pain, du beurre, des poulets et jusqu'à du sel. J'étais même dans l'habitude, par nécessité, de me rendre furtivement au camp anglais, pour acheter du beurre, des œufs et du pain, des femmes des soldats, sans quoi l'Empereur serait resté, tout un jour, sans déjeuner et même sans dîner.

Le gouverneur lui avait donné sept domestiques anglais pour le servir. L'Empereur se trouva forcé d'en congédier quatre, *faute de pouvoir leur donner à manger*, sur quoi le gouverneur accorda des rations de soldats, aux trois qui restaient.

Que de fois aussi, le maître-d'hôtel Cipriani acheta les rations de pain de ces trois domestiques, qui le recevaient du camp, à défaut des provisions pour l'Empereur et sa suite, lesquelles n'arrivaient pas.

Captain Poppleton, of the 53d regiment, appointed to guard the Emperor, if he is the man of honour I believe him to be, will not fail to bear witness that he has often lent candles to lighten this abode of desolation, as well as bread, butter, poultry, and even salt. I was even, from necessity, in the habit of repairing secretly to the English camp to purchase butter, eggs and bread, of the soldiers' wives, otherwise the Emperor would often have been without breakfast, and even without dinner !

The Governor sent seven English servants to Longwood, but the Emperor was obliged to dismiss four of them *from inability to supply them with food!* on which the Governor granted soldiers' rations to the three that remained.

Often has it also happened that Cipriani, the steward, has purchased from these three servants *the rations of bread* they received from the camp, in consequence of the want of provisions for the Emperor and his suite, which had not arrived.

C'est un fait qui paraîtra incroyable, mais qui n'est que trop vrai ; *l'Empereur est borné à une bouteille de vin par jour.* Le maréchal et Madame Bertrand, le général Montholon et sa femme, le général Gourgaud et le comte de Las Cazas, ont aussi chacun leur bouteille.

Le maréchal Bertrand a trois enfans, M. de Montholon deux, et M. de Las Cazas un âgé de 15 à 16 ans, et à toutes ces bouches, le gouverneur *n'accorde point de ration.*

Dans cet état de choses, l'Empereur se vit forcé de vendre toute son argenterie pour subvenir aux premières nécessités de la vie. Ce fut moi-même qui la brisait toute en morceaux, avant de l'envoyer au marché. Les fonds, que la vente produisit, furent déposés, par ordre du gouverneur entre les mains de M. Balcombe, sans que l'Empereur ait pu en toucher un sous.

Lorsque le maître-d'hôtel, dans la nécessité de suppléer à l'insuffisance des vivres fournis par le gouverneur, en achète lui-même (ce qui arrive tous les jours,) il ne peut en payer le prix qu'avec des bons sur M. Balcombe.

Si je ne réussissais pas, me levant à la pointe

It is a fact, which will appear incredible, but which is not the less true, that *the Emperor is limited to a bottle of wine per day!* Marshal and Madame Bertrand, General Montholon and his Lady, Général Gourgand and Count de Las Cazas have also each their bottle.

Marshal Bertrand has three children ; M. de Montholon two ; and M. de Las Cazas one, about fifteen or sixteen years of age ; and for all these mouths the Governor allows no rations !

In this state of things the Emperor has been compelled to sell all his plate, to procure the first necessaries of life ! I myself broke it in pieces before it was sent to the market. The produce of the sale was deposited, by order of the Governor, in the hands of Mr. Balcombe, and the Emperor was not permitted to touch a single penny.

When the house-steward, wishing to supply the deficiency of the provisions furnished by the Governor, makes purchases himself (which happens every day !) he can only pay them by orders upon Mr. Balcombe.

I used to rise at break of day, and when I

du jour, à tuer avec mon fusil quelques tourterelles aux alentours de la demeure, l'Empereur n'avait rien pour déjeuner, les vivres n'arrivant, d'ordinaire à Longwood qu'à deux ou trois heures après-midi ; et quand ils étaient de si mauvaise qualité que le maître-d'hôtel les renvoyait, l'Empereur se nourrissait de ma petite chasse. Dans ces occasions, son cuisinier se trouvait heureux d'avoir avec lui quelques tablettes, qu'il avait apportées de Paris, dont il faisait un bouillon pour l'Empereur.

Il n'y a point d'eau potable à Longwood, mais, à la distance de 1200 verges, il y en a de la bonne, qui pourrait être conduite jusque dans la baraque même de l'Empereur avec une dépense d'environ 12 à 15 cent francs.

La maison n'est pourvue que de l'eau qu'on va chercher, à cette fontaine ; elle n'est ouverte qu'une fois par jour, le reste du temps elle est fermée. La clef est gardée par quelque officier anglais, qui s'y trouve rarement au moment où l'on a besoin d'y puiser. Il y a bien un conduit qui mène l'eau au camp des Anglais, mais

did not succeed in shooting a few doves, in the neighbourhood of our dwelling, the Emperor frequently had nothing for breakfast. The provisions do not reach Longwood until two or three o'clock in the afternoon, and when they were of so bad a quality that the house-steward had to send them back, the Emperor subsisted entirely on the produce of my shooting. On these occasions, the cook thought himself fortunate in having brought from Paris some portable cakes, with which he made soup for the Emperor.

There is no water fit for cooking, at Longwood. Very good water may, however, be procured at a distance of twelve hundred yards, which might be conveyed to the Emperor's barracks at an expense of from twelve to fifteen hundred francs.

The house is only supplied by the water which is brought from this fountain ; it is open only once during the day ; at all other times it is locked. The key is kept by an English officer, who is scarcely ever present when water is wanted. There is a conduit for conveying water to the English camp ; but it was thought unne-

on n'a pas cru nécessaire de faire autant pour le malheureux Napoléon.

J'épargne à la nation anglaise, si humaine et si grande, la peinture d'autres insultes et des humiliations auxquelles l'Empereur se trouve exposé, et les griefs de l'Empereur envers le gouverneur Sir Hudson Lowe. Je me bornerai à dire, qu'il s'est permis de l'offenser au point, qu'à la dernière visite qu'il lui rendit, et où je fus présent, l'Empereur lui dit: " N'avez-vous donc pas fini
 " de m'insulter ! sortez de ma présence, que je
 " ne vous voie plus, à moins que vous ne rece-
 " vez ordre de votre gouvernement de m'assas-
 " siner, alors vous me trouverez prêt à vous dé-
 " couvrir ma poitrine. Mon corps est dans vos
 " mains ; vous pouvez verser mon sang ! "

Le climat de Longwood, est des plus malsains, tout y est extrême ; l'humidité, le vent et la chaleur.

L'amiral Cockburn, avait accordé pour les promenades de l'Empereur, une enceinte de plus de deux lieues à la ronde ; mais le gouvernement

cessary to do as much for the unfortunate Napoleon.

I spare the great and humane English nation a picture of the other insults and humiliations, to which the Emperor is exposed, and also a further detail of the complaints, which the Emperor makes against the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe. I shall confine myself to observing that at the last visit the Governor made to Longwood, and at which I was present, he offended him to such a degree that the Emperor said, "Have you not then done with insulting me! Leave my presence, and let me never see you again, unless you have received orders from your government to assassinate me: you will then find me ready to lay open my breast to you. My person is in your power. You may shed my blood."

The climate of Longwood is most unhealthy; the humidity, the wind, and the heat are all in extremes.

Admiral Cockburn had marked out a circuit of two leagues for the Emperor's prome-

actuel, l'a depuis, sans aucun motif, réduit à moins d'une demi-lieue.

Les inconvéniens du climat de Longwood, et surtout l'humidité dominante à laquelle l'Empereur est exposé, a considérablement altéré sa santé, et c'est l'opinion de son médecin Anglais, qu'il ne peut y séjourner un an encore sans exposer ses jours.

Le 18 Avril, 1816, le gouverneur, par ordre de son gouvernement, a exigé que chaque individu de la maison de l'Empereur, qui désirait rester à son service, signât une déclaration, qu'il rédigea lui-même à cet effet ; mais puisque dans cette pièce, il ne donnait à l'Empereur que le titre de *général Bonaparte*, il nous a paru, que le respect que nous devions à notre maître, ne pouvait se concilier avec la signature d'une pièce qui donnait à l'Empereur un pareil titre. Conséquemment nous écrivîmes une autre, ainsi qu'il suit :

“ Je soussigné déclare de vouloir rester à
 “ l'île de Ste.-Hélène, au service de l'Empereur
 “ Napoléon, et de me soumettre aux restrictions
 “ que le gouvernement pût imposer à l'Empe-

nade; the present Governor has, without any motive, abridged it to half a league.

The inconveniences of the climate of Longwood, and particularly the humidity to which the Emperor is exposed, have considerably injured his health, and it is the opinion of his English physician that he cannot remain there another year without hazarding his life.

On the 18th of April, 1816, the Governor, by order of the English Government, required that every individual of the Emperor's household, who might wish to remain in his service, should sign a declaration to that effect, which he drew up himself: but as in that paper he gave the Emperor only the title of General Buonaparte, it appeared to us impossible to reconcile the respect which we owed to our master, with the signing of a document in which he was described under such a title. We therefore wrote another declaration in the following terms:—

“ I, the undersigned, declare that I wish to
 “ remain in the Island of St. Helena, in the ser-
 “ vice of the Emperor Napoleon, and do submit
 “ to the restrictions though unjust and arbitrary

“ reur Napoléon, quoique injustes et arbitraires.

Ayant tous signé cette déclaration, elle a été acceptée sans difficulté par le gouverneur, qui l'expédia aussitôt en Angleterre.

Puisque nous nous étions maintenant conformé à tout ce que le gouverneur avait exigé de nous, nous avions le droit d'espérer, qu'il nous aurait laissé jouir du bonheur, de consacrer le reste de nos jours au service de notre illustre maître : mais nous fûmes trompés dans cette attente, puisque, quelque temps après, à notre grand étonnement, le gouverneur exigea de nous une nouvelle déclaration, en tout conforme à la première, à l'exception de ce qu'il insista que le titre de *Napoléon Buonaparte*, fût substitué à celui de *l'Empereur Napoléon*. Puisque le gouverneur avait sans difficulté accepté et envoyé en Angleterre, notre première déclaration : il est difficile de deviner, quel a pu être le but de cette répétition apparemment capricieuse et arbitraire. Cependant après quelque indécision, chaque individu de la suite, ainsi que de la maison de l'Empereur, signa cette nouvelle déclaration,

“ which the government may impose on the
“ Emperor Napoleon.”

Having all signed this declaration, it was accepted without any difficulty by the Governor, who immediately dispatched it to England.

As we had now conformed to every thing that the Governor had required of us, we were entitled to expect that he would allow us to enjoy the happiness of devoting the remainder of our days to the service of our illustrious master, but we were deceived in this expectation; for some time after, to our great astonishment, the governor required us to make *another* declaration in every respect conformable to the former, with the exception that he insisted the name “ Napoleon Bonaparte” should be substituted for the title of “ the Emperor Napoleon.” The governor having, without any objection accepted and transmitted to England, our first declaration, it is not easy to conjecture what could be the object of this capricious and arbitrary proceeding. However, after some indecision, every individual in the suite, belonging to the household of the Emperor, signed this declaration, ex-

lormis le comte Poniatouski, et moi-même. Ainsi jusqu'à ce point, le gouverneur n'avait de prise que sur ces *deux* individus de la maison de l'Empereur ; mais cela ne suffisait point pour but, qui parraît être, d'éloigner peu-à-peu de l'île, *toute* la suite du malheureux Empereur, et dans cette occasion, il insista que *quatre* individus quittassent l'île : ainsi il a fallu que le sort tombât sur deux qui avaient plein droit d'y rester, puisqu'ils s'étaient conformés aux conditions que le gouverneur avait exigées. Quant au choix des individus, qui devaient être écartés de l'île, par cet ordre, le gouverneur le laissa à l'Empereur, qui nécessairement le fit tomber sur ceux de ses gens dont il pouvait le mieux s'en passer.

L'Empereur ayant vendu son argenterie, a pu se dispenser des services du chef d'argenterie, et ayant diminué le nombre de ses chevaux, faute de fourrages, il a licencié un des deux piqueurs, qu'il avait à son service ; et n'ayant plus de cabinet, l'*huissier* lui fut devenu également superflu, ainsi il a jugé à propos de me congédier : d'au-

cept Colonel Poniatowski and myself. Thus the Governor had not until this time any pretence for dispute, except with *two* of the Emperor's household, but that was not sufficient for the Governor's object, which appeared to be to remove gradually from the island *all* the suite of the unfortunate Emperor, and on this occasion he insisted that *four* persons should leave the Island :—The lot had consequently to fall on two, who had full right to remain, as they had complied with the conditions required by the governor. With regard to the choice of the individuals, who were to be removed from the Island by this order, that was left by the Governor to the Emperor, who necessarily fixed on such of his attendants as he could the best spare.

The Emperor having disposed of his plate could dispense with the services of the keeper of the plate, and having been compelled to diminish the number of his horses, for want of a sufficient supply of forage, he has discharged one of the two grooms whom he kept in his service ; having no longer any cabinet, the office of *huissier* became equally superfluous, and

tant plus que les objets de première nécessité pour sa maison, diminuent tous les jours.

Le colonel Poniatowski a été éloigné de l'île par ordre du Gouverneur.

Nous quittâmes Ste.-Hélène le 28 Octobre, à bord de la frégate anglaise l'*Orontis*, et après avoir été au Cap de Bonne Espérance, nous revînmes à l'île de Ste.-Hélène. Nous y restâmes quelques jours, mais sans qu'on nous permit de débarquer. L'Empereur ayant été informé de notre retour, nous fit acheter, dans la ville de St.-James, des provisions pour notre voyage en Angleterre, qu'on nous fit parvenir à bord. Nous avons été obligés de renvoyer à terre le *live stock*, le capitaine voulant nous obliger de les tuer sur-le-champ. Quant au vin, nous n'en avons point bu, ne voulant pas nous soumettre à nous voir distribuer en ration par le Capitaine, comme il prétendait faire, ce cadeau de l'Empereur, qui nous appartenait en plein droit.

Enfin, le 25 Février, nous arrivâmes à Portsmouth d'où je me suis rendu à Londres,

he thought proper to dismiss me, and more especially as the objects of first necessity, for his household, suffer daily diminution.

Colonel Poniatowski has been removed from the Island by order of the Governor.

We departed from Saint Helena on the 28th of October, on board the English frigate the *Orontis*, and after having sailed to the Cape of Good Hope, we again returned to St. Helena. There we remained for several days without being suffered to land. The Emperor having been informed of our return, caused some provisions to be purchased at James Town for our voyage to England, which were sent on board the vessel. We were, however, under the necessity of sending back the live stock, as the Captain insisted on our killing it immediately. As for the wine, we never tasted it during the voyage, as we would not submit to have the Emperor's present, which was strictly our own, distributed to us in *rations* by the Captain.

On the 25th of February we arrived at Portsmouth, from whence I proceeded to Lon-

pour remplir le devoir pénible, mais sacré, dont je m'acquitte, en publiant cette relation.

Puisque chaque anecdote, qui ait quelque relation avec la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon, paraît exciter beaucoup d'intérêt; et puisque je désire non-seulement de contenter le généreux Peuple Britannique, mais aussi autant que je le pourrais de lui fournir les moyens, de former des aperçus justes sur les faits auxquels j'ai sollicité leur attention, il m'est survenu d'ajouter quelques nouveaux détails à ma précédente relation.

Le 21 Juin 1816, trois commissaires, l'un Français, un Russe, et l'autre Autrichien arrivèrent à Ste. Hélène, chargés, à ce qu'il paraît, par leurs respectifs souverains de surveiller, en quelque façon l'Empereur Napoléon. Il est cependant extraordinaire que ces Messieurs aient été près de deux mois dans l'île avant que nous ayons eu connaissance de l'objet de leur mission, où qu'ils aient faits quelque démarche ouverte pour communiquer avec l'Empereur. Enfin, les commissaires Autrichien et Français ont invité celui de la Russie

don, to fulfil the painful but sacred duty which I now discharge, by the publication of this Narrative.

Finally, since every anecdote connected with the person of the Emperor Napoleon, appears to excite a high degree of interest; and since I wish not only to satisfy the generous British people, but likewise to furnish them, as far as I am able, with the means of forming just views concerning the facts to which I have solicited their attention, I have resolved to add some new details to my former narrative.

On the 21st of June, 1816, three Commissioners, one from France, one from Russia, and the other from Austria, arrived at St. Helena, appointed, as it appeared to us, by their respective Courts, to watch, in some way or other, the person of the Emperor Napoleon. It is, however, extraordinary that these Gentlemen had been two months upon the Island before we were made acquainted with the object of their mission, or that they took steps, of which any information was given, towards communication with the Emperor. At length the Austrian and

à se joindre à eux dans la rédaction d'une lettre adressée au Maréchal Bertrand, afin de le prévenir *qu'ils désiraient voir le Général Buonaparte*. Le commissaire russe refusa de signer ou de se mêler d'une telle pièce, en déclarant que cela n'aurait été nullement en conformité avec son devoir, avec ses instructions *écrits de la main propre de l'Empereur Alexandre*, et d'après lesquelles il lui était enjoint d'avoir *le même respect, et les mêmes égards pour la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon que pour celle d'Alexandre même*.

Les deux autres commissaires, sans être découragés par cette défection de leur collègue, donnèrent cours à leur lettre au grand Maréchal Bertrand ; ce dernier, ayant consulté l'Empereur sur la réponse qu'il fallait y faire, eut l'ordre *de ne pas en donner* ; mais un moment après, l'Empereur ajouta : “ Vous pouvez leur envoyer dire par le premier venu, que je ne les recevrais pas comme commissaires ; mais que, s'ils désiraient me voir comme simple particulier, ils pourraient se faire annoncer comme tels.” Nous n'avons ja-

French Commissioners invited the Commissioner to join them in drawing up a letter addressed to Marshal Bertrand, for the purpose of informing him *that they desired to see General Buonaparte*. The Russian Commissioner *refused to sign or to interfere* in any way with this letter, declaring that such a proceeding would neither be conformable with his duty, nor the instructions he had received *in the hand writing of the Emperor Alexander*, by which he was enjoined to entertain *the same respect and consideration for the Emperor Napoleon as for that of Alexander himself*.

The two other Commissioners, who were not discouraged by this defection in their colleague, forwarded the letter to Marshal Bertrand. The latter having consulted the Emperor concerning the reply which he should make to it, was ordered *to send none*, but a moment afterwards the Emperor added, "You may inform them by the first person who may happen to come, that I will not receive them as Commissioners; but that if they wish to see me as private individuals, they may be announced as such.

mais su, par la suite, s'ils ont profité de cette permission que l'Empereur leur avait accordée. J'ai cependant entendu dire, que l'Empereur s'est par la suite, exprimé dans des termes très-flatteurs de la conduite honorable et délicate du commissaire Russe.

Etant de service auprès de l'Empereur, je l'ai souvent entendu s'exprimer avec beaucoup de confiance dans le naturel noble et magnanime de son ancien ami l'Empereur de Russie, qui, disait-il, "*n'accéderait jamais au système de vexation qu'on lui faisait éprouver à Ste. Hélène.*"

We never learned whether they made use of the permission which the Emperor granted them. I have, however, been informed that the Emperor afterwards expressed himself in the most flattering terms respecting the honourable and delicate conduct of the Russian Commissioner.

Having been in attendance near the person of the Emperor, I have frequently heard him express great confidence in the noble and magnanimous disposition of his former friend the Emperor of Russia, who, he said, “ would *never sanction* the system of vexation which had been inflicted upon him at St. Helena.”

The next thing which they made use of the
 permission which it is formerly granted them
 to have printed, was to print the book
 which is now before you, and which is
 the first of the series.

The second thing which they made use of
 the permission which it is formerly granted them
 to have printed, was to print the book
 which is now before you, and which is
 the first of the series.

The third thing which they made use of
 the permission which it is formerly granted them
 to have printed, was to print the book
 which is now before you, and which is
 the first of the series.

The fourth thing which they made use of
 the permission which it is formerly granted them
 to have printed, was to print the book
 which is now before you, and which is
 the first of the series.

APPENDIX.



LETTRE

*Du Général Comte de MONTHOLON adressée,
par Ordre de l'Empereur NAPOLEON, à Sir
HUDSON LOWE, Gouverneur de S. M. Bri-
tannique à l'Isle Ste.-Hélène.*

Ce 25 Août, 1816.

MONSIEUR LE GÉNÉRAL,

J'AI reçu le Traité du 2 Août, 1815, conclu entre Sa Majesté Britannique, l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur de Russie et le Roi de Prusse, qui étoit joint à votre lettre du 23 Juillet.

L'Empereur Napoléon proteste contre le contenu de ce Traité, il n'est point prisonnier de l'Angleterre. Après avoir abdiqué entre les mains des représentans de la nation, au *profit de la Constitution adoptée par le Peuple Français, et en faveur de son fils*, il s'est rendu volontairement et librement en Angleterre, pour y vivre en particulier dans la retraite, sous la protection des lois britanniques. *La violation de toutes les lois ne peut pas constituer un droit.* De fait la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon se trouve au pouvoir de l'Angleterre, mais de fait ni de droit il n'a été, ni n'est au pouvoir de l'Autriche, de la Russie et de la Prusse, même selon les lois et coutumes de l'Angleterre, qui n'a jamais fait entrer dans la balance des prisonniers les Russes, les Autrichiens, les Prussiens, les Espagnols, les Portugais, quoiqu'unie à ces puissances par des traités d'alliance, et faisant la guerre conjointement avec elles.

La Convention du 2 Août, faite quinze jours

LETTER,

*By order of the Emperor NAPOLEON, addressed
by General Count MONTHOLON, to Sir
HUDSON LOWE, British Governor of the
Island of St. Helena.*

August 25th, 1816.

GENERAL,

I HAVE received the Treaty of the 2d of August, 1815, concluded between His Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which accompanied your letter of the 23d of July.

The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of that Treaty; he is not the prisoner of England. After having placed his abdication in the hands of the Representatives of the Nation, for the *advantage of the Constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his Son*, he repaired voluntarily and freely to England, with the view of living there, as a private individual, under the protection of the British laws. *The violation of every law cannot constitute a right.* The person of the Emperor Napoleon is actually in the power of England, but he neither has been, nor is, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, either in fact or of right, even according to the laws and customs of England, which never included, in the exchange of prisoners, Russians, Prussians, Austrians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, though united to these powers by treaties of alliance and making war conjointly with them.

The Convention of the 2d of August, con-

après que l'Empereur Napoléon était en Angleterre, ne peut avoir en droit aucun effet ; elle n'offre que le spectacle de la coalition des quatre plus grandes Puissances de l'Europe pour l'oppression d'*un seul homme*—coalition que désavoue l'opinion de tous les peuples, comme tous les principes de la saine morale.

Les Empereurs d'Autriche et de Russie, et le Roi de Prusse n'ayant, de fait ni de droit, aucune action sur la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon, ils n'ont pu rien statuer relativement à lui.

Si l'Empereur Napoléon eût été au pouvoir de l'Empereur d'Autriche, ce Prince se fût souvenu des rapports que la religion et la nature ont mis *entre un père et un fils*—rapports qu'on ne viole jamais impunément.

Il se fût ressouvenu que *quatre fois* Napoléon lui a restitué son trône : à Léoben, en 1797, et à Luneville en 1804 ; lorsque ses armées étaient sous les murs de Vienne, à Presbourg, en 1806, et à Vienne en 1809 ; lorsque ses armées étaient maîtres de la capitale et des trois-quarts de la monarchie. Ce Prince se fût ressouvenu des protestations qu'il lui fit au bivouac de Moravie en 1806, et à l'entrevue de Dresde en 1812.

Si la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon eût été au pouvoir de l'Empereur Alexandre, il se fût ressouvenu des liens d'amitié contractés à Tilsit, à Erfurt, et *pendant douze ans d'un commerce journalier*.

Il se fût ressouvenu de la conduite de l'Empereur Napoléon le lendemain de la bataille d'Austerlitz, où pouvant le faire *prisonnier* avec

cluded fifteen days after the Emperor was in England, cannot have of right any effect. It exhibits only a spectacle of the coalition of the four greatest Powers of Europe for the oppression of *a single man!*—a coalition which the opinion of every nation and all the principles of sound morality equally disavow.

The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, having neither in fact or in right any claim over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, could decide nothing respecting him.

Had the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that Prince would have recollected the relations which religion and nature have formed *between a father and a son*—relations which are never violated with impunity.

He would have recollected that Napoleon had *four times* restored to him his throne: viz. at Leoben in 1797, at Luneville in 1804; when his armies were under the walls of Vienna, at Presburgh, in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809; when his armies had possession of the capital and three-fourths of the monarchy! That Prince would have recollected the protestations he made to Napoleon at the *bivouac* in Moravia in 1806, and at the interview in Dresden in 1812.

Had the person of the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have recollected the ties of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurth, and *during twelve years of daily correspondence.*

He would have recollected the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day after the battle of Austerlitz, when, though he could have made

les débris de son armée, il se contenta de sa parole et lui laissa opérer sa retraite. Il se fût ressouvenu des dangers que, personnellement, l'Empereur Napoléon a bravé pour éteindre l'incendie de Moscou et lui conserver cette capitale ; certes, ce Prince n'eût pas violé les devoirs de l'amitié et de la reconnaissance, envers un ami dans le malheur.

Si la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon eût été même au pouvoir du Roi de Prusse, ce Souverain n'eût pas oublié qu'il a dépendu de l'Empereur, après la bataille de Friedland, de placer un autre Prince sur le trône de Berlin. Il n'eût point oublié, devant un ennemi *désarmé*, les protestations de dévouement et les sentimens qu'il lui témoigna, en 1812, aux entrevues de Dresde.

Aussi voit-on, par les articles 2 et 5 du dit Traité du 2 Août, que, ne pouvant influer en rien sur le sort de la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon, qui n'est pas en leur pouvoir, ces Princes s'en rapportent à ce que fera là-dessus Sa Majesté Britannique qui se charge de remplir toutes les obligations. Ces Princes ont reproché à l'Empereur Napoléon, d'avoir préféré la protection des lois anglaises à la leur. Les fausses idées que l'Empereur Napoléon avait de la libéralité des lois anglaises, et de *l'influence de l'opinion d'un peuple grand, généreux et libre sur son gouvernement*, l'ont décidé à préférer la protection de ses lois à celle de son *beau-père*, ou de son ancien ami. L'Empereur Napoléon a toujours été le maître de faire assurer,

him, with the wreck of his army, *prisoner*, contented himself with taking his parole, and *allowed* him to operate his retreat. He would have recollected the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself in order to extinguish the fire of Moscow, and to preserve that capital for him—assuredly, that Prince would never have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in misfortune.

Had the person of the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the King of Prussia, that Sovereign could not have forgotten that it depended on the Emperor, after the Battle of Friedland, to place another Prince on the throne of Berlin. He would not have forgotten, in the presence of a *disarmed* enemy, the protestations of attachment and the sentiments of gratitude which he testified to him in 1812 at the interviews in Dresden.

It accordingly appears from articles 2 and 5, of the Treaty of the 2d of August, that these Princes, being incapable of exercising any influence over the disposal of the Emperor, who was not in their power, accede to what may be done thereon by His Britannic Majesty, who takes upon himself the charge of fulfilling every obligation. These Princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with having preferred the protection of the English laws to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon had formed of the liberality of the laws of England, and of the *influence of the opinion of a great, generous, and free people over their government*, decided him to prefer the protection of *these* laws to that of a *father-in-law* or an

ce qui lui était personnel, par un traité diplomatique, soit en se remettant à la tête de l'armée de la Loire, soit en se mettant à la tête de l'armée de la Gironde que commandait le général Clausel. Mais ne cherchant désormais que la retraite et la protection des lois d'une nation libre, soit Anglaises, soit Américaines, toutes stipulations lui ont paru inutiles. Il a cru le peuple anglais plus lié par sa démarche franche, noble, et pleine de confiance qu'il ne l'eût pu être par les traités les plus solennels. Il s'est *trompé*, mais cette erreur fera à jamais rougir les *vrais* Bretons ; et dans la génération actuelle, comme dans les générations futures, *elle sera une preuve de la déloyauté de l'administration anglaise.*

Des commissaires Autrichien et Russe sont arrivés à Ste.-Hélène. Si leur mission a pour but de remplir une partie des devoirs que les Empereurs d'Autriche et de Russie ont contracté par le Traité du 2 Août, et de veiller à ce que les agens anglais, dans une petite colonie au milieu de l'Océan, ne manquent pas aux égards dus à un Prince lié avec eux par les liens de *parenté* et par tant d'autres rapports, on reconnaît, dans cette démarche, des marques du caractère de ces deux Souverains ; mais vous avez, Monsieur, assuré que ces commissaires n'avaient *ni le droit ni le pouvoir d'avoir aucune opinion de tout ce qui peut se passer sur ce rocher !*

Le ministère anglais a fait transporter l'Empereur Napoléon à Ste-Hélène, à 2000 lieues de l'Europe. Ce rocher, situé sous le tropique,

old friend. The Emperor Napoleon had it in his power to secure, by a diplomatic treaty, whatever was personal to himself, by putting himself either at the head of the army of the Loire, or at the head of the army of the Gironde, commanded by General Clausel; but wishing, henceforth, for nothing but retirement and the protection of the laws of a free state, either English or American, all stipulations appeared to him unnecessary. He conceived that the English people were more bound by a conduct which was, on his part, frank, noble, and full of confidence, than they would have been by the most solemn treaties. He has been *deceived*, but this error will for ever cause *true* Britons to blush, and will, in the present as well as the future generations, be a *proof of the bad faith of the English Administration*.

Austrian and Russian commissioners are arrived at St. Helena. If the object of their mission be the fulfilment of a part of the duties which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the Treaty of the 2d of August, and to take care that the English Agents, in a small colony, in the midst of the Ocean, do not fail in the respect due to a Prince connected with these Sovereigns by the bonds of *relationship* and so many other ties, traits of the character which belong to these two Monarchs will be recognized in this proceeding; but you, Sir, have declared that these Commissioners have *neither the right nor the power of giving any opinion on what may be passing on this Rock!*

The English ministers have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to St. Helena, at the distance of 2000 leagues from Europe.

à 500 lieues de tout continent, est soumis à la chaleur dévorante de cette latitude ; il est couvert de nuages et de brouillards les trois-quarts de l'année, c'est à la fois le pays le plus sec et le plus humide du monde ; ce climat est le plus contraire à la santé de l'Empereur. C'est la haine qui a présidé au choix de ce séjour, comme aux instructions données par le ministère anglais aux officiers commandant dans ce pays.

On leur a ordonné d'appeler l'Empereur Napoléon "Général," voulant l'obliger à reconnaître qu'il n'a jamais régné en France.

Ce qui l'a décidé à ne pas prendre un nom d'incognito, comme il y était résolu en sortant de France : Premier Magistrat à vie de la République sous le titre de *Premier Consul* ; il a conclu les préliminaires de Londres et le Traité d'Amiens avec le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne ; il a reçu, pour *Ambassadeurs*, Lord Cornwallis, M. Merry, Lord Whitworth, qui ont séjourné en cette qualité à sa cour. Il a accrédité auprès du *Roi d'Angleterre* le Comte Otto et le Général Andréossi, qui ont résidé comme ambassadeurs à la cour de Windsor. Lorsqu'après un échange de lettres entre les ministères des affaires étrangères des *deux monarchies*, Lord Lauderdale vint à Paris muni des pleins pouvoirs du Roi d'Angleterre, il traita avec les plénipotentiaires munis des pleins pouvoirs de l'*Empereur Napoléon*, et séjourna plusieurs mois à la cour des *Tuileries*. Lorsque, depuis à Châtillon, Lord Castlereagh signa l'ultimatum que les *Puissances Alliées* présentèrent aux plénipo-

This rock, situated within the tropics, and 500 leagues from any continent, is subject to the devouring heats of these latitudes. It is covered with clouds and fogs, during three-fourths of the year, and is at once the most arid and the most humid country in the world. Such a climate is most inimical to the health of the Emperor, and hatred must have dictated the choice of this residence, as well as the instructions given by the English Ministry to the officers commanding in the Island.

They have even been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon *General*, as if it were wished to oblige him to consider himself as never having reigned in France.

The reasons which determined him not to assume an *incognito* name, as he might have resolved to do on leaving France, were these: First Magistrate for life of the Republic under the title of *First Consul* he concluded the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; and received, as *ambassadors*, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at *his Court*. He accredited to the *King of England*, Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as Ambassadors at the Court of Windsor. When, after an exchange of letters between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the *two Monarchies*, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris invested with full powers from the King of England, he treated with the Plenipotentiaries possessing full powers from the *Emperor Napoleon*, and remained for several months at the *Court of the Tuileries*: when Lord Castlereagh afterwards signed, at Chatillon, the *ultimatum which the*

tentiaires de l'Empereur Napoléon; il reconnut par-là la quatrième dynastie.

Cet ultimatum était *plus avantageux* que le Traité de Paris, mais on exigeât que la France renonçât à la Belgique et à la rive gauche du Rhin, ce qui était contraire aux propositions de Francfort et aux proclamations des Puissances Alliées, ce qui était contraire au serment par lequel à son sacre l'Empereur avait *juré l'intégrité de l'empire*. L'Empereur pensait alors que les limites naturelles étaient nécessaires à la garantie de la France, comme à l'équilibre de l'Europe; il pensait que la nation Française, dans les circonstances où elle se trouvait, devait plutôt courir toutes les chances de la guerre que de s'en départir.

La France eût obtenu cette intégrité et avec elle conservé son honneur, *si la trahison n'était venue au secours des alliés*.

Le Traité du 2 Août, l'Acte du Parlement Britannique, appelant l'Empereur, *Napoléon Buonaparte*, et ne lui donnant pas le titre de Général. Le titre de *Général Buonaparte* est sans doute éminemment glorieux, l'Empereur le portait à Lodi, à Castiglione, à Rivoli, à Arcole, à Leoben, aux Pyramides, à Aboukir; mais depuis dix-sept ans il a porté celui de *Premier Consul* et d'*Empereur*; de le nommer maintenant que *Général*, ce serait convenir qu'il n'a été ni *premier magistrat* de la république, ni *souverain de la quatrième dynastie*. Ceux qui pensent que *les nations sont des troupeaux qui, du droit divin, appartiennent à quelques familles, ne sont ni du siècle, ni même dans*

Allied Powers presented to the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he thereby acknowledged the fourth dynasty.

This *ultimatum* was more advantageous than the Treaty of Paris, but it was required that France should renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. This was contrary to the propositions made at Francfort, and the proclamations of the Allied Powers, and contrary to the oath by which, at his coronation, the Emperor *swore to maintain the integrity of the empire*. The Emperor then conceived that natural boundaries were equally necessary for the security of France and the equilibrium of Europe; he judged that the French nation, in the circumstances in which it then was, had better incur all the hazards of war than submit to this partition.

France would have secured her integrity and with it would have maintained her honour, had not *treachery been summoned to the assistance of the Allies*.

The Treaty of the 2d of August, and the Act of the British Parliament, called the Emperor, *Napoleon Buonaparte*, and gave him not the title of General. The title of *General Buonaparte* is doubtless eminently glorious: the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Leoben, among the Pyramids, and at Aboukir; but for the last seventeen years he has borne those of *First Consul* and *Emperor*. To style him *General*, now, is to declare that he has neither *been chief magistrate of the Republic, nor a Sovereign of the fourth Dynasty*. Those who believe that nations are like flocks, which, by divine right, belong to

l'esprit de la législation anglaise, qui changea plusieurs fois l'ordre de sa dynastie, parce que de grands changemens survenus dans les opinions auxquels n'avaient pas participé les princes regnans, les avaient rendus ennemis du bonheur et de la grande majorité de cette nation. Car les rois ne sont que des magistrats héréditaires qui n'existent que pour le bonheur des nations, et non les nations pour la satisfaction des rois.

C'est le même esprit de haine qui a ordonné que l'Empereur Napoléon ne put écrire, ni recevoir aucune lettre sans qu'elle soit ouverte et lue par les ministres anglais et les officiers de Ste. Hélène.

On lui a par-là interdit la possibilité de recevoir des nouvelles de sa mère, de sa femme, de son fils, de ses frères ; et lorsque voulant se soustraire aux inconvéniens de voir ses lettres lues par des officiers subalternes, il a voulu envoyer des lettres cachetées au Prince Régent, on a répondu qu'on ne pouvait se charger que de laisser passer des lettres ouvertes, que telles étaient les instructions du ministre. Cette mesure n'a pas besoin de réflexion, elle donnera d'étranges idées de l'esprit de l'administration qui l'a dictée, elle serait désavouée à *Algers*. Des lettres sont arrivées pour des officiers généraux de la suite de l'Empereur, elles étaient décachetées et vous furent remises ; vous ne les avez pas communiquées, parce qu'elles n'étaient pas passées par le canal du ministre anglais. *Il a fallu leur faire refaire quatre mille lieues*, et les officiers eurent la douleur de savoir qu'il existait

a few particular families, have notions which are neither of the present age, nor even in the spirit of the English Legislation, which has several times changed the order of its Dynasty, because the reigning Princes not having participated in the great changes which took place in opinions, became inimical to the happiness of the majority of the nation. For Kings are only hereditary Magistrates who exist solely for the happiness of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings.

The same spirit of malice dictated the order by which the Emperor Napoleon was prevented from writing or receiving any letter which has not previously been opened and read by the English Ministers and the officers of St. Helena.

The possibility of his receiving letters from his *mother, his wife, his son, or his brothers*, has thus been interdicted; and when he wished to remove the inconvenience of having all his letters read by subaltern officers, and to send *sealed letters to the Prince Regent*, he was informed that none but open letters could be passed—such were the orders of the Ministry. This measure stands in need of no reflexion; it gives rise to strange ideas concerning the Administration by which it was dictated; it would even have been disavowed at *Algiers*. Letters have arrived for general officers in the suite of the Emperor; they were broken open and delivered to you; but you refused to communicate them because they had not been received through the channel of the English Minister. *They had to travel back four thousand leagues*, and these officers endured the mortification of knowing

sur ce rocher des nouvelles de leur femme, de leur mère, de leurs enfans, et qu'ils ne pourraient les connaître que dans six mois. Le cœur se soulève!!! On n'a pas pu obtenir d'être abonné au *Morning Chronicle*, au *Morning Post*, à quelques journaux français de temps à autres, ou faire passer à Longwood quelque numéros dépareillés du *Times*. Sur la demande faite à bord du *Northumberland* on a envoyé quelques livres ; mais tous ceux relatifs aux affaires des dernières années en ont été soigneusement écartés. Depuis on a voulu correspondre avec un libraire de Londres, pour avoir directement des livres dont on pouvait avoir besoin et ceux relatifs aux événemens du jour, on l'a empêché ; un auteur anglais ayant fait un voyage en France, et l'ayant imprimé à Londres, prit la peine de vous l'envoyer pour l'offrir à l'Empereur, mais vous n'avez pas cru pouvoir le lui remettre, parce qu'il ne vous était pas parvenu par la filière de votre gouvernement. On dit aussi que d'autres livres envoyés par leurs auteurs, n'ont pu être remis, parce qu'il y avait sur l'inscription de quelques-uns, à l'Empereur Napoléon, et sur d'autres à Napoléon-le-Grand. Le ministre anglais n'est autorisé à ordonner aucunes de ces vexations ; la loi quoiqu'inique du Parlement Britannique, considère l'Empereur Napoléon comme prisonnier de guerre, or jamais on a défendu aux prisonniers de guerre de s'abonner aux journaux, de recevoir les livres qui s'impriment : une telle défense n'est faite que dans les cachots de l'Inquisition.

that there existed on the island accounts of their wives, their parents and their children, of which they could not be informed in less than six months. The heart revolts at such treatment!! Permission could not be obtained to subscribe, occasionally, for the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Post*, any of the French Journals, or even to get a few detached numbers of the *Times*, conveyed to Longwood. In consequence of an application, made on board the Northumberland, a few books were sent; but all such as related to the affairs of latter years were carefully kept back. It was then wished to establish a correspondence with a bookseller of London, in order to obtain directly such books as might be wanted, and those which related to the events of the day; but this was forbidden. An English author, who wrote an account of his journey through France, which was printed at London, took the trouble of sending you a copy of the work, for the purpose of having it presented to the *Emperor*; but you did not think fit to transmit it to him, because it had not been sent through the medium of your government. It is besides understood that other books have been sent which were not delivered, because some were directed to the *Emperor Napoleon*, and others to *Napoleon the Great*. The English ministry is not authorized to order any of these vexations. The law, *though unworthy the British Parliament*, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a *prisoner of war*; now a prisoner of war is never forbidden to subscribe for newspapers, or to receive printed books—*Such a prohibition exists only in the cells of the Inquisition.*

L'Isle de Ste. Hélène a dix lieues de tour, elle est inabordable de toute part, des *bricks* enveloppent la côte, des postes placés sur le rivage peuvent se voir de l'un à l'autre, et rendent impraticable les communications avec la mer. Il n'y a qu'un seul petit bourg, James Town, où mouillent et d'où s'expédient les bâtimens. Pour empêcher un individu de s'en aller de l'île, il suffit de cerner la côte par terre et par mer ; en interdisent l'intérieur de l'île. On ne peut donc avoir qu'un but, celui de priver d'une promenade de huit ou dix milles, qu'il serait possible de faire à cheval, et donc, d'après la consultation des hommes de l'art, la privation abrège les jours de l'Empereur.

On a établi l'Empereur dans la position de Longwood, exposé à tous les vents, terrain stérile, inhabité, sans eau, n'étant susceptible d'aucune culture. Il y a une enceinte d'environ douze cents toises ; à onze ou douze cents toises incultes sur un mamelon on a établi un camp ; on vient d'en placer un autre à-peu-près à la même distance, dans une direction opposée, de sorte qu'au milieu de la chaleur du tropique de quelques côtés qu'on regarde on ne voit que des camps.

L'Amiral Malcomb ayant compris l'utilité dont, dans cette position, une tente serait pour l'Empereur, en a fait établir une par ses matelots, à vingt pas en avant de la maison ; *c'est le seul endroit où l'on puisse trouver de l'ombre.* Toutefois l'Empereur n'a lieu que d'être satisfait de l'esprit qui anime les officiers et soldats du brave 53e, comme il l'avait été de l'équi-

The Island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference, and is inaccessible on every side. The coast is surrounded by brigs, and posts are stationed within sight of each other, so that all communication with the sea is rendered impracticable. There is but one little village, called James Town, where vessels arrive and depart. To prevent the escape of any individual from the island, it is only necessary to guard the coast. There could therefore be but one object in interdicting communication with the interior of the island—namely, to prevent a ride of about eight or ten miles, the privation of which, according to the opinion of medical men, could not take place without shortening the life of the Emperor.

The Emperor has been placed at Longwood, a situation exposed to every wind that blows, in a tract of land sterile and uninhabitable, without water, and susceptible of no kind of cultivation. There is a circuit of about twelve hundred uncultivated toises. On an eminence, at a distance of eleven or twelve hundred toises, a camp has been established, and another has recently been placed at an equal distance, in an opposite direction, consequently in the midst of tropical heats the eye is met by camps on every side.

Admiral Malcombe having conceived that a tent would be extremely useful to the Emperor, caused one to be fitted up by his seamen, at about twenty paces from the front of the house : *beneath this tent is the only spot which is shaded from the sun.* The Emperor has, however, every reason to be well satisfied with the spirit which animates the officers and men

page du *Northumberland*. La maison de Longwood a été construite pour servir de grange à la ferme de la compagnie : depuis, le sous-gouverneur de l'île, y a fait établir quelques chambres, elle lui servait de maison de campagne, mais elle n'était en rien convenable pour une habitation. Depuis un an qu'on y est, on a toujours travaillé, et l'Empereur a constamment eu l'incommodité et l'insalubrité d'habiter une maison en construction. La chambre dans laquelle il couche est trop petite pour contenir un lit d'une dimension ordinaire, mais toute bâtisse à Longwood prolongerait l'incommodité des ouvriers. Cependant dans cette misérable île, il existe de belles positions, offrant de beaux arbres, des jardins, et d'assez belles maisons, entre autres *Plantation-House*, mais les *instructions positives du ministère* vous interdisent de donner cette maison, ce qui eût épargné beaucoup de dépense à votre trésor, dépenses employées à bâtir à Longwood des cahuttes couvertes en papier goudronné, et qui déjà sont hors de service. Vous avez interdit toute correspondance entre nous et les habitans de l'île, vous avez mis de fait la maison de Longwood au *secret*, vous avez même entravé les communications avec les *officiers de la garnison*. On semble donc s'être étudié à nous priver du peu de ressources qu'offre ce misérable pays, et nous y sommes comme nous le serions sur le rocher inculte et inhabité de l'Ascension.

of the brave 53d regiment, as he likewise had with the crew of the Northumberland. The house at Longwood was first built to serve as a barn for the Company's farm. The Deputy Governor caused some rooms to be made in it and converted it into a country house, but it was never fit to be inhabited. For this year past workmen have been constantly employed, and the Emperor, to the injury of his health, has been obliged to submit to the inconvenience of living in a house which is in the progress of building. The apartment in which he sleeps is not large enough to contain an ordinary-sized bed; but every new building at Longwood would prolong the inconvenience of the presence of workmen. This miserable Island, however, presents many fine positions, covered with trees, gardens and even neat houses, among which is *Plantation-House*; but the *ministry gave strict orders* that we were not to occupy that house; had we been permitted to do so, your treasury might have been spared the expenses which were laid out at Longwood, in building huts roofed with paper, coated with pitch, and which are now useless. You have interdicted all correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the Island, you have in fact placed the house at Longwood in a state of *seclusion*, you have even obstructed any communication which might take place with the *officers of the garrison*. It seems as though it had been studied to deprive us of the few resources which this miserable country presents, and we are as wretched as if we were doomed to live on the uncultivated and uninhabited rock of the Isle of Ascension.

Depuis quatre mois que vous êtes à Ste.-Hélène, vous avez, Monsieur, empiré la position de l'Empereur. Le comte Bertrand vous a observé que vous violiez même la loi de votre législature, que vous fouliez aux pieds les droits des officiers généraux prisonniers de guerre ; vous avez répondu que vous ne reconnaissiez que la lettre de vos instructions, qu'elles étaient pires encore que ne nous paraissait votre conduite.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le général,

Votre très-humble

et obéissant serviteur,

(Signé,)

Le général

Comte de MONTHOLON.

P. S. J'avais signé cette lettre, Monsieur, lorsque j'ai reçu la vôtre du 17. Vous y joignez le compte par aperçus d'une somme annuelle de vingt mille livres sterlings que vous jugez indispensable pour subvenir aux dépenses de l'établissement de Longwood, *après avoir fait toutes les réductions que vous avez cru possibles.* La discussion de cet aperçu ne peut nous regarder en aucune manière. La table de l'Empereur est à peine le stricte nécessaire, tous les approvisionnement sont de mauvaise qualité quatre fois plus chers qu'à Paris. *Vous demandez à l'Empereur, un fonds de douze mille livres sterlings,* votre gouvernement ne vous allouant que huit mille livres sterlings pour toutes ces dépenses. J'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire, que l'Empereur n'avait pas de fonds, que, depuis un an, *il n'avait reçu ni écrit aucune lettre et qu'il*

During the four months that you have resided at St. Helena, you have sir, aggravated the unfortunate situation of the Emperor. Count Bertrand observed to you that you were even violating the laws laid down by your legislature, and trampling on the rights of general officers prisoners of war; you replied, that you would act according to the letter of your instructions, which were even more rigid than the conduct you had adopted.

I have the honour to be, Mr. General,

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

(Signed) General Count de Montholon.

P. S. I had signed this letter, Sir, before I received yours of the 17th. You have annexed thereto an account, by way of estimate, of an annual sum of twenty-thousand pounds sterling, which you think necessary for covering the expenses of the establishment of Longwood, *after having made every reduction which you conceive possible.* The discussion of this estimate can in no way concern us. The Emperor's table is scarcely furnished with the most common necessities, all the provisions are of bad quality and four times dearer than at Paris. *You demand from the Emperor the sum of twelve thousand pounds sterling,* your government only allowing you *eight thousand pounds sterling* to defray all these expenses. I have already had the honour of informing you that the Emperor possesses no funds, that for this year past he has neither writ-

ignorait complètement tout ce qui se passe ou a pu se passer en Europe.

Transporté violemment sur ce rocher à deux mille lieues, sans pouvoir recevoir ou écrire aucune lettre, il se trouve aujourd'hui entièrement à la discrétion des agens Anglais.

L'Empereur a toujours désiré et désire pourvoir lui-même à toutes ses dépenses quelconques, et il le fera aussitôt que vous le lui rendrez possible, en levant l'interdiction faite aux négocians de l'île de servir à sa correspondance, et qu'elle ne sera soumise à aucune inquisition de votre part, ni d'aucun de vos agens, dès que l'on connaîtra en Europe les besoins de l'Empereur, les personnes qui s'intéressent à lui, enverront les fonds nécessaires pour y pourvoir.

La lettre de Lord Bathurst, que vous m'avez communiquée, fait naître d'étranges idées. Vos ministres ignoraient-ils donc, que le spectacle d'un grand homme aux prises avec l'adversité est le spectacle le plus sublime ; ignoraient-ils que Napoléon à Ste.-Hélène, au milieu des persécutions de toute espèce, auxquels il n'oppose que de la fermeté, est plus grand, plus sacré, plus vénérable, que sur le premier trône du monde, où si long-temps il fut l'arbitre des Rois

Ceux qui, dans cette position, manquent à Napoléon, n'avalissent que leur propre caractère et la nation qu'ils représentent.

(Signé,)

Le général

Comte de MONTOLON.

ten. nor received any letter, and that he is entirely ignorant of all that is passing in Europe.

Forcibly transported to this Rock, without the possibility of writing or receiving any letter, he now finds himself totally at the discretion of the English Agents.

The Emperor has always wished and still wishes to defray all his expences of every description. This he will do whenever you render it possible, by removing the interdiction by which the merchants of the Island are prevented from transacting business for him, and whenever he shall be exempt from all inquisition on your part or that of your agents. As soon as the necessities of the Emperor are made known in Europe, those persons who feel interested in his happiness will transmit the funds requisite to provide for his support.

Lord Bathurst's letter, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas. Are not your ministers aware that the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity is the most sublime of all others: are they ignorant that Napoleon, at St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, to which he opposes only the firmness of resolution is greater, more sacred, and more venerable than when he was seated on the first Throne in the world, where he was so long the arbiter of Kings.

Those who are wanting in respect to Napoleon, in his present situation, only degrade their own characters and the Nation which they represent.

(Signed) General Count de Montholon.

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Copy to Mr Perry

ON THE
POLITICAL DOCTRINE
CALCULATED TO UNITE
PARTIES IN FRANCE;
BY
BENJAMIN DE CONSTANT.

TRANSLATED BY
THOMAS ELDE DARBY,
UNDER
THE INSPECTION OF THE AUTHOR.



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ON THE
POLITICAL DOCTRINE,

&c. &c.

A PARTY (I do not use this word in an unfavourable sense, I employ it to distinguish a re-union of persons adhering to the same political theory) a party exists in France, and professes to have recently adopted principles it had long rejected; its conversion to these principles, would be an important and salutary event, it would put a term to the internal calamities of the country, and those which remain would admit of an easier remedy.

But the rest of the nation views this party with extreme distrust, a distrust that diminishes or destroys the advantages which would be the natural result of its conversion, were it sincere, and believed to be so.

For my part, I derive no satisfaction in supposing that honourable men, men interested in the weal of France, are devoid of sincerity. I am more fully convinced than many, that little belief should be placed in the eternity of prejudices, that pardon should be accorded to pretensions, in order to render them transient, that menaces should be suffered to evaporate, and that the engagements of *amour propre* should remain unregistered.

I did not even judge these men with rigour, although I classed them in the day of their prosperity, as the bitterest enemies of the ideas I cherished. I represented to myself, that they were alarmed at recollections, at which we shudder ourselves, and that they conceived, that to them devolved the special duty of preserving, or restoring to the king, even against his own will, absolute authority. Opinions, however, are never criminal. No one can explain, in what manner they have taken possession of the mind.

No one can calculate the effect of the impressions of infancy, of lessons inculcated, of principles listened to with respect, of paternal traditions engraven alike in the memory, and the heart. These matters

act independently of reason, and at length modify even reason itself. They disguise from our own eyes, the impulses of self-interest; and more than one anti-revolutionist, struggling to re-conquer his privileges, supremacy and riches, may have really fancied himself a hero of patriotism, and a disinterested citizen.

It is not less true, that the distrust these men inspire to many is natural; even before the revolution had deviated from the path of morality and justice, the greater part of them had declared themselves enemies of all innovation. During five and twenty years, they have not made a movement, nor uttered a word, nor written a line, without manifesting their hatred against principles they then called revolutionary; that is to say, against the more equal division of power, against the participation of the people in legislative functions, against the abolition of privileges, and the equality of citizens. But all these principles form the basis of our present government.

Under Bonaparte such of this party as entered into his views, approved of his boundless authority. They recommended despotism as primitive legislation; they proscribed religious liberty, and proposed

to princes to imitate the Being sovereignly good, who from that goodness was necessarily sovereignly intolerant. They established as an axiom, and repeated it after the return of Louis XVIII. that when the people were desirous a thing should not take place, it was precisely the moment to carry it into execution.

When the events of 1814 had restored to the French the faculty of expressing their opinion, and inclination on public affairs, these persons then promulgated sentiments in direct opposition to the new theories. They composed pamphlets against the liberty of the press, and newspaper articles, according the right of exile to government. Should by chance, (an event which would prove both a misfortune and a fault, but which may happen because we live in an age of parties,) should, I say, it be proposed to retrench any of the liberties they now reclaim, the collection of their own works would be the compleatest arsenal of sophisms against each of these liberties.

I will not dwell on their conduct in 1815; I will only remark that their phrases on the necessity of measures of state, on the urgency of abridging or suppressing constitutional forms, on the justice and propriety of

unlimited arrests, and on exiles without legal motives, were yet warm on their lips when they began to pronounce phrases diametrically opposite.*

I do not attribute an excessive importance to these speeches from the tribune, prepared to produce a momentary effect, and the violence of which, even against the intention of the orator, is fanned by intoxicating applause. More than one speaker has appeared implacable in an assembly; merely because he was carried away by his own eloquence; his judgment was lost; on the recovery of his senses he no longer appears the same person. Besides, reverses are an excellent teacher.

I think, therefore, that experience, reflection, the influence of the ideas of the age, an exacter knowledge of the situation and disposition of France, have enlightened many of these persons. They have felt that no human power could re-create what had been destroyed, nor annihilate what two

* I had collected in another work the various facts relative to this part of the history of our revolution. But I have since thought that too exact a recapitulation would be injudicious, when the object was conciliation. I have therefore abandoned the idea of publishing this work.

generations had consecrated, not only by their vows and adhesion, but what is yet more decisive, by their transactions and customs ; and convinced at last of the necessity of yielding to the age, they frankly enter upon the constitutional career.

Unfortunately they have hitherto had but sorry interpreters—eloquent rather than adroit, these interpreters in the manifestos which succeed their conversions, seem to proclaim axioms, in order to proscribe individuals, and to commence with metaphysical abstractions in order to finish with anathemas.—This method of announcing an abdication of errors, has many inconveniences. They who employ it, irritate the majority they seek to persuade, and cast suspicion on the minority whom they are desirous of serving.

But to establish a loyal and lasting treaty between the parties, what must be done ? Proof must be given, that no auxiliary unsullied by vice, will henceforth be rejected ; that the revolution is considered otherwise than as a long crime ; its various epochs must be no longer stigmatized by odious denominations ; men must play no longer the double part of neophytes and persecutors—in a word, France must be convinced that

liberty is meant to be extended to every class.

One *must* not build on interests, denominated revolutionary, a doctrine calculated to incense all those who are not merely desirous of preserving certain properties, exhibiting certain decorations, or affecting certain titles, but who seek to enjoy these possessions, as they are entitled to do, without being overwhelmed with eternal, unmerited opprobrium.—One must no longer disparage twenty-seven years of our history, twenty-seven years, during which some wretches, indeed, have committed crimes ; but during which, likewise, in the midst of troubles and calamities subversive of mankind, one has seen individuals of all parties, offer sublime examples of courage, disinterestedness, fidelity to their opinions, *dévouement* to their friends, and sacrifices to their country—One must no longer hold up the nation to its own view, and what is still more deplorable, to the eyes of Europe, as a servile perjured race, playing every part, submitting to every oath. One must not, fifteen months after the disbandment of our unfortunate army, culpable a single day, and admirable during twenty years, recal in bitter terms the memory of its faults, and

blame the government for having forgotten its offences.*

One must no longer devote to political excommunication, all those who have served either Bonaparte or the republic; declare them natural enemies of our present institutions, and recognizing in these institutions, all that can excite their antipathy, without reflecting, that these men compose entire France; for among them must be numbered those who have combated the foreign foe, those who have administered the state in its various offices, those who have manifested their opinions in favour of reform, those who have merited the esteem of their fellow citizens by some good actions, and those who have a right to their gratitude, for having prevented or diminished evil ones.

One must not, in order to fill this blank, which presents nothing less than a whole people retrenched from a country, appeal exclusively to the nobility, and demonstrate

* There is one writer especially, who ought to be indulgent to the errors of an army; he who said, that he always *reasoned ill, on hearing a drum*. Our old warriors, covered with scars, have heard more drums than he, and not drums of pageantry.

that this class might get possession of, and monopolize the charter, and that the *peerage* and *representation* would be as profitable as the *garrisons* and *anti-chambers*. One must not imagine, with some insignificant restrictions, with some trivial phrases, with promising *one day* the extinction of jealousies existing between the different orders of the state, and the re-union of the gentleman and plebeian, to reconcile the *nation* to the supremacy intended to be established.

I will explain myself elsewhere, on the place the nobility should fill in our representative monarchy—it will be seen, that I am far from encouraging any of those social dislikes, which give rise to injustice, to resistance, at last to destruction. 'When the nobles were proscribed by authority, I combated this culpable and dangerous system ; but let me ask, if twenty-four millions of men perceive that then institutions are to be abandoned to the mercy of 80,000, in order that these latter may indemnify themselves for their lost supremacy, is this the way to render such a minority popular?—Similar publications should not be entitled, " Of the Monarchy, according to the Charter," but " Of the Charter, according to the Aristocracy," and they should be composed

like the Vedam, in a sacred tongue, to be studied only by a privileged cast, and to be shut against the profane. But there are peculiar turns of mind, by which, in defiance of great and powerful faculties, one sees but one's self, one's *salon*, one's *coterie*—the existence of the nation is forgotten; it is imagined, that the great question is, whether men will consent to honor the charter in benefiting by it—it is considered as a conquest to make, rather than as a buckler to preserve.

In a word, when the object is to tranquilize a people, one should not, by declaring what one would do, if at the helm of government, endeavour to regenerate opinion by the *commandants* of the gendarmerie; by chiefs of the armed force, attorney generals, and presidents of prevotal court: one should not promise to influence the public mind, and create royalists * with soldiers, gendarmes, criminal prosecutions, and extraordinary tribunals.—Doubtless, it is necessary to form constitutional royalists, but by affection, by confidence, by the sentiment of their own benefit, by all the bonds of

* Bishops too, I confess, are on the list; but in reading the other names that compose it, their object I presume was, to pray with the condemned.

gratitude and safety; and taken in this point of view, the ordinance of the 5th September has done more in a day, than the seven men required by department would have effected in ten years.

I have explained what ought to be avoided, when one seeks to calm and conciliate parties.—I will now add what conduct ought to be pursued, in order to inspire confidence.

‘We should, in professing ourselves the protectors of individual liberty, sometimes appeal in favour of the oppressed, belonging to a party different from our own. It is scarcely credible, that during the terrible year we have just witnessed, those who are improperly named exclusive royalists, have been the only victims of unjust denunciations, or vexatious measures: we should admit that the reclamations of suspected persons of the opposite party may sometimes too be founded. We must listen to them, were it only to afford a proof of our impartiality, or we incur the chance of the nation thinking that our indignation against illegal arrests is confined to such as are directed against the members of our own mode of thinking.’

When a minister is accused of arbitrary measures, the proof given should not *merely*

be the persons set at liberty,* nor should one raise the voice of reproach, because citizens

* It is curious enough, that this is the only fact which results from the denunciation, contained in the proposition made, to the Chamber of Peers, relatively to the last elections. I will cite the express phrases of this denunciation, and if my quotations are monotonous, I am not the person whom the reader must accuse.

“ Beaucoup de surveillances ont été levées. Page 7...
 “ Elles ont expiré tout juste le même jour et à la même
 “ heure. Page 8... Des hommes sont devenus libres,
 “ tout simplement parce que le temps de leur déten-
 “ tion était fini. Page 8.

“ On a rendu à la société des hommes en surveillance
 “ pour leur conduite politique. Page 9. On a fait ces-
 “ ser les mesures de haute police pour le cas particulier
 “ des électeurs. Page 9. La police a poussé la *libéralité*
 “ jusqu’à lever les surveillances des électeurs suspects
 “ au Roi et à la justice. Page 10. Les jacobins sont sor-
 “ tis de leurs repaires. Page 21. Ils se sont présentés
 “ aux élections. Page 21. Dans le département du
 “ Gers, trois jacobins fameux ont été mis en liberté, et
 “ ont répandu leurs principes autour d’eux. Page 21.
 “ On a jeté dans la société des hommes capables de
 “ corrompre l’opinion. Pages 21, 11.”

I am struck, however, by one consideration, which without doubt, escaped the author of the accusation. The law of detention was only necessary, only excusable under the hypothesis that the *prevenus*, who could not be brought to trial, might be dangerous. From the moment, that they ceased to be dangerous, this law was not applicable to them. Therefore, notwithstanding *la libéralité* of their being freed from *surveillance*, and the scandal caused by their being set at liberty, the elections have been valid. The deputies

are restored to their families ; nor repeat those worn out declamations against *dange-*

who have been chosen, are constitutional royalists. Their elections have not been influenced by the presence of Jacobins. They therefore were not dangerous, and consequently were properly set at liberty. If they had political rights, they were entitled to exercise them.

In general, without examining the conduct of ministry during the last elections, I think that, it may be affirmed that they, particularly in several departments, were much more free than those in 1815. In the south, under a religious pretext, no political vengeance have been exercised. The Protestants also, have been admitted to vote. These differences have not sufficiently struck the author of the proposal in the House of Peers.

If any have been discharged from offices, which has been attributed to the present ministry as a crime, these measures, supposing all the circumstances exact, appear to me a natural effect of the constitution. Can one expect to keep one's offices under a government, which one attacks ? Are the opposition members desirous of enjoying the profits of favour, together with the popularity of independence ? A choice must be made between one's conscience, or even one's party, and the good graces of the ministry.

I am, however, far from declaring myself the champion of any administration that has governed France, since the king's return. All these administrations have committed faults ; I might affirm, that all these faults have the same source, the influence of a party exercised in accusing those whom they forced to commit these faults. All these administrations have erred in thinking to disarm this party, by giving it a half satisfaction ; and as is always the case, this party feeling its strength,

rous men, who should not be *let loose on society*, nor complain that the detained are released, *merely because the cause of their distinction was over*. After having granted by acclamation to a thousand subaltern authorities, the right of apprehending suspicious persons, it would seem more decorous to

have become insatiable; but I will avoid these recollections. They who retrace in their memory the circumstances that I could reproduce, will not bear me any ill will for so doing.

The present ministry itself, that, on account of the ordonnance of the 5th September, has many claims on the gratitude of all the French, has, nevertheless, in my opinion, committed several errors.

They who consider my known opinions on some of their measures, will easily conceive, that I cannot approve of others; I have been a constant advocate for individual liberty, the first and most sacred end of every political institution; I have claimed the independence of newspapers liable to prosecution, the only efficacious engine of publicity in our great modern associations, and the only way of delivering government itself, from a minute and perplexing responsibility, I have claimed the liberty of the press, and the introduction of juries, in causes of this kind; because juries are the only competent judges of moral questions, and they alone, offer a security, either against oppression, or against impunity. I am gratified, therefore, that in many respects we have made some steps towards an evident improvement. I approve of all the abolitions that take place, but I cannot approve of all that is preserved.

offer an excuse for such a vote, than to criminate government for not having made a sufficiently abundant use of it. In a word, we should know, when we embrace the career of liberty, that she ought to exist for all, if we wish she should be sacred for any ; and that the characteristic merit of her votaries is to respect her worship, even in the person of an enemy.

As the advocate of individual liberty should not manifest his indignation at the number of prisoners released, thus he who defends the inviolability of the right of election, should not complain of the admission of legal electors to the exercise of their rights.

He who respects justice should abstain from calling a person, *suspected* of connivance with rebels, the *rival* of the chief of those rebels ; and to stigmatize an *acquitted* man, with the title of one *escaped from a tribunal*.*

In a late work, it has been proposed to

* Take notice, that by this expression, not only individual liberty, and the liberty of elections, but the individuals of the tribunals, and the inviolability of decisions at law, are attacked. If many such conversions to liberty take place, I question if we shall retain any liberty at all.

print a new dictionary. Against the word *honor*, (said *the author*) let us write, “it is antiquated;” against *fidelity*, “dupery.” Will they not likewise annex to the word suspected, “*rival of a criminal condemned to death* ;” to the word *acquitted*, “*escaped from a tribunal* ?”

Writers, supposed to be the organs of the parties so lately converted to liberty, have committed all these faults, and great discredit has resulted to the whole party. On perceiving that a change of principles by no means led to a change of conduct, and that old persecutions were grafted on new doctrines, France considered herself justified, in thinking that those in whose name she had been addressed, embraced the maxims of liberty, merely to impose on its true friends, that they would have gladly annihilated this liberty, had it not met with protection from a higher authority ; and that if they invoked the constitution, it was because they were not in office.

The nation remarked, “that they knew not how to tally their old principles with their new doctrines, embarrassed as they were by the theory they avowed, and the practice they dreaded ; and they would wil-

lingly have seen as much withdrawn by one hand, as was apparently accorded by the other.’*’

In fact, the position was embarrassing. At the moment in which one party was already suspected of having only changed its tactics, this suspicion gained ground. The explanation seemed to be placed too near the enigma; and in discovering the *end* it became evident that the winding road led to the same destination.

One may be endowed with very distinguished talents, one may have achieved very noble actions, but when one renders suspicious the party one undertakes to serve, and alienates those one is desirous of conquering, it is demonstrated one is but an indifferent negociator.

It is, however, urgent to propose pacific terms for two armies, ready perhaps to come to terms of understanding.—The instant is favourable; the government, the deputies, the opposition, all France, hold to day the same language. It is impossible this language should not influence those who use it, in repeating the prin-

* Proposal in the House of Peers, relative to the last Elections, page 32.

ciples of liberty, they will imbibe the free principles they repeat. I think, therefore, a common profession of faith would contribute to unite them to the nation. I presume here to trace a sketch of that creed; I think it both constitutional and popular.

I admit, that the revolution has created two kinds of interests, the one material, the other moral: it is both absurd and dangerous to pretend that the moral interests are the establishment of anti-religious, anti-social doctrines, the support of impious and sacrilegious principles. The moral interests are not what some rash men have said, some guilty men performed; these interests are what at the epoch of the revolution the nation willed, what it wills still, what it cannot cease to desire, the equality of citizens in the eye of the law, liberty of conscience, safety of persons, the responsible independence of the press. The moral interests of the revolution, are its principles.

The question is not merely, to guarantee the advantages of some, but to secure the rights of all. If the first point is alone attended to, certain individuals may be satisfied, but the mass will never be tranquil.

The antagonists of liberty, under the influence of fear, open their ranks to re-

ceive, no matter what auxiliaries, on condition of their joining them against the people. It is all useless. Those who pass over to such enemies, lose themselves, without saving the others.

I think, that in respecting the moral interests of the revolution, in other words, the principles, the material interests ought also to be respected ; but I think yet further, and it is what but too often men have feigned to be ignorant of, in protecting the interests, one must avoid humiliating the man.

I declare, if inspired by implacable resentment, and indifferent to the consequences of my language, I was intent on overturning my country, at the risk of perishing in its ruins, I would adopt, without hesitation, this method :—I would seek out the most numerous, active, and industrious class, that which is most identified with the existing institutions, and I would say to it—“ We cannot from the force of circumstances, dispute your property, or legal rights. Enjoy the one, exercise the other ; but we declare to you, we consider these rights as usurped, that property as illegitimate. We do not proscribe you, but there is no kind of proscription you

are not deserving of. We do not dispossess you; but it is scandalous to leave you inviolate. We submit to suffer some of you to occupy places of trust; but every place confided to you, is an insult to public morality. You are now acquainted with our mode of thinking, go your way in peace and safety, and after having stomached our insults, rely on our promises to respect your properties and persons." Such would be, I repeat it, my language, were I willing to overturn my country. For I should calculate, that men are as averse to be despised, as to be pillaged; that it is impossible to reduce them to submit patiently to opprobrium; and that protestations, which accompany outrages, are held as nought, because they, against whom they are directed, see in such outrages, a proof of the falsity of the professions. I should be sure, that by irritating an immense number of citizens, without disarming them, by exasperating without weakening them, I should provoke their indignation, and finally their resistance. Now what I would do, in the intention of destroying my country, is what has been done for the last three years, and what is doing every day. I do not advance, that the purpose is to heap upon

our country, new calamities. I speak of the goal, which one cannot fail reaching by this road, and not of the end such projects may be meant to obtain.

I believe, that the friends of liberty ought to encourage conversions, but I think that the converted should not insist on the merit of this slow, and sudden change, to arrive immediately at power. The nation must find their logic extraordinary; they have been in an error twenty-seven years, they confess it, and on the strength of this long error, they propose to the nation to throw herself on their intelligence. She would reply to them, that they had waited a long time to be converted, they ought to wait a little before governing. In passing so rapidly from the theory to the application, from their principles to their interests, they injure their own cause. If a Mussulman embraces Christianity, I should rejoice at the acquisition of a new believer; but if on that very day, this same Mussulman would become Pope, I should not fail doubting the fervour of his faith.

I think that the government, were it even convinced of the loyalty of certain individuals, would yet commit a grievous imprudence, in confiding to them exclusively the

direction of the state. A tradition which all people repeat, said Hesiod, becomes a divinity. When a persuasion is general, were it even ill founded, it would be wise in the authorities to respect it. It does not therefore merely import, to know if the new converts who seek to govern us, merit confidence ; one must examine, whether the nation is disposed to grant it to them.

I think, they act well, in demanding from the ministers all legitimate liberty ; but I think they should not insist on their oppressing one party, to satisfy the other. I know not what bishop prayed thus, in a sinking vessel—" My God," exclaimed he, " save me, save only me, I do not wish to exhaust your mercy." Do not let us pray for liberty, as this bishop invoked Providence.

I think, that every career in the state, should be open to citizens, whatever functions they may have filled in France, during its various governments, provided they be unsullied by crime. I even think, one should not be too severe against those who have not resisted despotism with sufficient energy. I plead a cause, foreign to myself personally. During the thirteen years, of the government of Bonaparte, I refused serving him ; I preferred exile to his yoke ; and whatever judgment

may be pronounced on me, for having accepted, at another epoch, a seat in his council, when twelve hundred thousand strangers were menacing France, the imputation of servility can never reach me. But I defend, likewise against this charge, the national cause; and affirm, that after having given, unavailing regrets to liberty, and hazarded too feeble efforts in her favour, many men submitted to a slavery of which they did not calculate the extent. The nation was fatigued with a long anarchy, opinion was undecided, a chief appeared who promised tranquillity. The majority of the French accorded him a confidence, which had its origin in their lassitude. The clear-sighted minds that discerned in him the future tyrant, were but in small numbers.

If I were not resolved in a production, of which the only merit is to endeavour to bury all hatred in oblivion, to avoid every species of recrimination, I should enquire of our rigorists of to-day, what *they* did *then*, to second those who were putting the people on their guard against the despot in embryo. They advanced his interests, by extolling under his reign absolute rule, as the best of governments; they aided him, with their obscure

mataphysics, with their poetic prose, with their dythyrambics and sophisms. When, thanks to their systems, the last organs of the nation were driven from the tribune,* what could the crowd of useful, laborious, enlightened men avail, who without having force enough to resist an inevitable ill, were sensible that some good was still possible, and thought it their duty to their country, to contribute to it. If those who served under the tyranny are culpable, they are only culpable, for having yielded to the impulsions given to France, by their present accusers, and even in their midst of their submission, they still gave proofs of their wishes and regrets.†

* The Ultras applauded the exile of the twenty independent members, in the year 1802.

† A writer, whom no one will accuse of partiality towards the *hommes de la revolution*, M. de Chateaubriand, in his last pamphlet (Proposal in the House of Peers, page 31,) has acknowledged this truth without perceiving it. In reproaching them, with abandoning to day these antient opinions, he thus portrays them. "Those, who during five and twenty years, have been crying out for liberty, and the constitution." Remark, during five and twenty years, consequently under Bonaparte himself. They therefore were not such submissive servile slaves. The fact is, unhappily they never cried out for liberty, but talked much about liberty;

Let us recal a too famous epoch, the trial of General Moreau. Who was it that defended his cause? who composed his admirable defence?* who struck terror even into the palace of his adversary by a menacing and contagious indignation? who?—why the friends of liberty, men of the revolution, to use the term *in vogue*.

Yes! many have been weak, but whenever a hope of liberty has presented itself, they have seized it, seconded it, preserved its tradition, and should it survive, to them be some part of the merit.

Have we likewise taken into consideration all the ills they have prevented? Of those who blame them, is there no one who owes his fortune to any among them? the lives of his friends? of his relations? or even his own?

I know it well—the memory of gratitude is but short in the instant of danger, men implore protection and receive the benefit—the peril passes, wrongs alone are remembered, and these are shortly converted into crimes.—I once heard a person say, “ I

but without doubt in much too low a voice. They seized every opportunity of speaking in this sense, as others seized every one of speaking in a contrary sense; and it is the last who to-day accuse them of servility.

* Garat.

know not which of those wretches saved my life."

We escape from a great shipwreck. The sea is covered with our ruins—let us collect from them whatever is precious, the recollections of services conferred, of generous actions, of dangers partaken, of distresses succoured—instead of bursting the few bonds which still hold us together, let us create new ones, by these honourable records.

Justice requires, prudence counsels it.—The modern institutions cannot, as it is proposed, be directed by the men of ancient France. The citizens of these times, form, as I have said before, the immense national majority—all moral influence, all experience of detail, all use in the administration of affairs, all acquired information, is with them. The government cannot do without them, and therefore, since the first fall of Bonaparte, all the successive administrations have been compelled, after certain oscillations, to take a nearly uniform march, and to enter into a system, falsely represented as a conspiracy against the monarchy, and which is nothing more than the necessary and inevitable action of the national interests on the monarchy.

Far be it from me, by a narrow and ab-

surd intolerance, to repel any class from the administration of affairs—I have great confidence in the force of liberty, and provided she be surrounded by her legitimate securities, I do not fear seeing some portion of power made over to hands momentarily unpopular. I think, therefore, that it is useful and desirable, that the nobility shall participate in the charter. I think, that a class, elegant in its forms, polished in its manners, rich in illustration, is a precious acquisition for a free government: and to prove that this opinion, which I express to-day, and which perhaps is far from being general has always been mine, I will transcribe what I wrote at another epoch.

“Privileges, ever liable to abuse, still afford means of leisure for perfection and intelligence. A great independence of fortune, is a guarantee against many kinds of baseness and vice. The certainty of being respected, is a preservative against that restless jealous vanity, which every where discovers insult, and suspects disdain, against that implacable passion which avenges itself by the ill it inflicts for the agony it sustains. The use of mild forms, and the habits of ingenious distinctions, give to the feeling a delicate susceptibility, to the mind

a rapid flexibility. They should have derived advantage from these precious qualities—they should have encircled the spirit of chivalry with barriers which it could not overleap, but yet leave it a noble space in the career which nature renders common to us all. The Greeks spared the captives who recited verses from Euripides. The smallest spark, the smallest bud of intellect, the slightest sentiment of mildness, or form of elegance, ought to be carefully cherished—they are so many elements indispensable for social happiness—they must be saved from the storm, both for the interest of justice and of liberty, for all these things tend more or less directly to liberty.—Our fanatic reformers (continued I) confounded epochs, in order to kindle and keep alive dissensions, as the Goths and Franks were quoted to consecrate oppressive distinctions; the Goths and Franks were alike cited to furnish pretexts of oppression in an opposite sense.—Vanity sought for titles of honour, in archives and chronicles; a sourer and more vindictive vanity derived from the same chronicles and archives acts of accusation.* I printed these lines when the tempest was still raging over the head of these men; and

* De l' Esprit de Conquête, page 122.

tyranny endangered, knowing them for its secret enemies, menaced them with invoking the rigour of forgotten laws, and the fury of an irritated people. I may render myself this testimony, that at all epochs I invited force to take counsel of justice.

But, I do not believe, that in admitting the nobility to participate in the charter, it is prudent to advise them to take possession of it as a conquest. The effort would not succeed. This class would lose the blessing of liberty without obtaining the advantages of a triumph. The spirit of the age, and yet more, that of the French people, is entirely directed towards equality.

Yes, I believe, the salvation of France possible, perhaps, even easy.

One may have remarked more than once during the revolution, that a certain moral force, unperceived, but irresistible, impelled things and men in the direction which the revolution had given. Since the origin of this revolution, various factions have endeavoured to make her deviate from her path, but no one has succeeded. Bonaparte by inconceivable success suppressed this moral force. But he has fallen, and the opinion which it was thought had expired under his

ascendancy, revived again. This lesson of experience was neglected in the first year of the constitutional career, even superior intellects stand in need of time to appreciate thoroughly the elements by means of which and on which they have to act. A terrible catastrophe was the consequence. Europe interfered, all was re-established; but party feuds have again menaced the work of twenty-seven years, and the danger re-appeared. The ordinance of the 5th of September replaced the nation in its natural course, and the peril existed no longer.

What then is this natural course from which it is so fatal to vary?—It is that which the nation traced at the beginning of 1789.

At this epoch, her object was to establish, not merely practical liberty, but liberty founded on right, and to deliver herself from all possibility of slavery. The practical mildness of the government did not satisfy her. She wanted security as much as enjoyment, and reclaimed guarantees to ensure this point. Such was the whole question of 1789. Private ambition, personal vanity, interests sprung from civil commotion, and which could only be satiated by commotion, have stained the revolution with horrible

atrocities and deplorable events; but in the midst of her sufferings, her convulsions, and her subjection, the nation has never ceased desiring, what she desired before, and as often as she could raise her voice she reiterated her demand. The proof of this assertion is, that should any one collect by chance, the writings published at different epochs; alas, too short! during which she enjoyed some vestige of liberty, one would still find the expression of the same wishes, nor would any thing more be requisite to adapt them to the present time, than to change the names and protocols. Such then is the road in which the nation wishes to march. It was first traced in 1789; she has returned to it whenever it was in her power; she has protested against all influence, which made her abandon it, sometimes by her silence, and sometimes by her complaints. It is essential then to acknowledge this truth. What the nation fears, what she detests, is arbitrary power: it could be no more established in favour of the purchasers of national domains than against them, no more in the interests of the men of the revolution than against them. At the words of liberty, security, responsibility, legal independence of the press, trial by jury,

with questions clearly enunciated, respect for religious opinions, all the nation is roused. This is its atmosphere, these ideas are natural to the air she breathes. Twenty-seven years of misfortune, artifice, and violence, have not changed her nature. She is what she has been ; she will be what she is : no power can change her.

Let no one mistake a symptom which may astonish, but which I think I have explained. Voices which the nation mistrusted have suddenly proclaimed principles, which formerly they were hoarse with proscribing. The nation was struck dumb, but with astonishment, not from aversion for the principles, but mistrust for the men. Her silence does not signify ; we dislike what you advance, it signifies we dread what you *desire*.

The depositaries of authority have an unfortunate predilection for considering all those who do not side with them as a faction : sometimes they include the nation itself in this category, and conceive it a supreme skill to glide between what they call opposite factions, without the support of either.

But every association, every re-union of men in power or out of power, which shall not rally under the banner of national prin-

ciples, will meet no where with support, should chance have placed authority in such hands, or should they have got possession of it by guile or force, the nation will suffer them to govern but without concurring with them ; for experience has proved *the efficacy* of abandoning all, that does not favour her views, certain that by that action alone, sooner or later, every thing which is out of her views must fall to the ground.

She thus escapes the fatigue of resistance, she avoids all danger, and leaves those who are willing to march alone, to pursue their career between two abysses. In such moments one would say she is dead, so motionless does she appear, such little interest does she seem to take in all that is passing. But proclaim one word, excite one national hope, she re-appears full of vigor, and is as indefatigable in her zeal, as unshaken in her purpose ; so strong does she re-appear that oftentimes those who have invoked her have the weakness to be alarmed, they are in the wrong. She reclaims nothing unjust ; she detests whatever is violent, but she has a nice discrimination of what is true, and what is not so, and she never pardons those who think they can deceive her. In other respects her judgments are very equitable, she

is indulgent in consideration of circumstances, is obliged to men for the evil they have prevented, and even excuses that which they have suffered to be committed, when she is convinced that their consent was only to avoid a greater calamity. But she does not fail insisting, that she should be re-conducted to the goal she is desirous of reaching. As soon as they lead her astray, the most specious actions and eloquence are vain ; she cannot be deceived ; she is not the dupe of the illusion ; she stops, advertised by an unerring instinct, that what has been said is fallacious, and that what has been done is totally foreign to her interests.

POSTSCRIPT.



During the time this little work was at the press, two remarkable pamphlets appeared. One is the Preface, annexed by M. De Chateaubriand, to the collection of his political works, the other the sixth part of the correspondence of M. Fiévée.

One of the finest geniuses of the eighteenth century, Rousseau, was persuaded that the philosophers of every country had formed a conspiracy against him, in which all the people of the earth had joined. The children in the street who passed him in silence were concerned in it, and the Danish dog which threw him down in running before a carriage was in his opinion one of the conspirators.

This proof that eminent faculties do not preserve him who possesses them from the effect, which a fixed idea produces on the mind, can alone explain, what otherwise it would be impossible to conceive, I mean that a writer publishes once a month at least

a pamphlet, in which he attack the ministers down to the sub-prefects, and maintains at the same time that the press is so shackled, that he has not even the power left of defending himself; and that a peer of opposition should declare himself persecuted, although in a two-fold capacity he holds from the government of which he opposes all the measures, favours, which I approve of, because talent is always entitled to favours: this, however, evinces that the persecution is not exceedingly violent.

I believe that M. De Chateaubriand is sincere in his complaints; but I grieve the more on the influence of a fixed idea, since the view of his own pamphlets printed and sold publicly, does not prevent him from considering the press as enslaved, and that the faculty he employs of pursuing a minister with the bitterest invectives and weightiest accusations, without any inconvenience accruing to himself, changes nought in his persuasion, that this minister is armed with absolute power, and exercises it against his enemies with implacable rigor.

If the Preface of M. De Chateaubriand is curious as a monument of the fantastic maladies of the brain, the work of Mr. Fiévée presents an entirely different interest.

In this publication are to be found principles which I neither will nor can dispute, because I have professed and defended them long before their present advocates : and as one of their methods of attack against men who decline all association with their hatreds, is to reproach them with having deserted their ancient doctrines, I am tempted to reprint what I wrote in face of what they write, and I declare, that as I formerly believed implicitly in such principles, *before they* had adopted them, I cannot but approve of them now in defiance of their adoption.

But after this declaration, I will venture to offer some remarks on the manner in which these principles were defended by the opposition of 1814, and on the manner in which they are defended by the opposition of 1816.

I beg pardon of the public, for citing myself, but having discussed, two years since, the same questions which are discussed to-day, pamphlets which should be buried in oblivion, may serve as a point of comparison between the two epochs.

Let people compare what I wrote on the liberty of pamphlets and the newspapers, and my observations on the discourse of the minister of interior, in favour of the project of law relative to the liberty of the

press, and what M. de Chateaubriand and M. de Fiévée publish.

They will see, with what moral delicacy, in noticing the faults of government, I abstained from casting any suspicion on its intentions ; how ready I was to pay homage to every action that appeared meritorious.

The fact is, my object was not to displace, and especially not to take the place of any one. It would have been a crime in my eyes to disturb the peace we were then enjoying.

In the works of the two writers, whom I have already cited, there is not one line which does not tend to discredit the intentions, and to metamorphose into a conspiracy against the state, a reasoning which I myself too acknowledge defective, but which I cannot consider as the manœuvres of a conspirator. These observations do not allude to the intention, but to the effect.

It was, nevertheless, to the moderate well meaning opposition of 1814, that M. de Chateaubriand addressed the following reflections : “ will the French never be rid
“ of that deplorable impatience, which does
“ not suffer them to wait the advantages of
“ experience and time ? The English constitution is the fruit of many ages of
“ essays and misfortunes, and we pretend to

“ have an irreproachable one in six months.
 “ The guarantee of this first and import-
 “ ant foundation of our liberty, which
 “ the charter offers, do not satisfy us. It is re-
 “ quired in an instant to arrive at perfection.
 “ All is considered lost, because all is not
 “ obtained—*In the midst of an invasion*,*
 “ amidst the dangers and movements of a
 “ sudden restoration, the king is required
 “ to find time to throw his eyes around him,
 “ in order to discover the elements of the
 “ objects reclaimed—We who commenced
 “ this government, shall we find nothing
 “ wanting in us, to conduct it well? Would
 “ it not be better, that its amelioration
 “ should march progressively with our own,
 “ than to anticipate our education and ex-
 “ perience?” (Political Reflections, ch. 14.)

I do not cite these lines, as an apology
 for measures which I disapprove, I agree
 at present, to what M. de Chateaubriand
 did not agree to in 1814, and yet to what
 he agrees to-day, namely, that personal
 liberty should be entire, that the legal
 liberty of the press should be confirmed

* Were, in M. de Chateaubriand's opinion, the
 dangers of an invasion less in 1816, than they were
 in 1814?

by laws above control, and that the editors of newspapers should be responsible, but independent.

I affirm that M. de Chateaubriand did not think all that in 1814; and I prove it, at least in as much as relates to the liberty of the press, since in the same *Political Reflections*, we read, “ that this last question
“ is calculated to divide, and embarrass
“ the clearest minds ; and that when on
“ the one side, we see Geneva shackle the
“ liberty of the press, and on the other a
“ part of Germany, and Belgium, proclaim
“ this same liberty, it was fair to conclude,
“ that a peremptory decision was not too
“ easy.” (page 191.)

I do not cite him, therefore, as an authority in my favour, but to shew what he wrote, on the mildest, and most moderate opposition that was ever known, what would he not write against the opposition of to-day, were he not the organ or the chief of it ?

I have not before my eyes, the portions of “ *Political and Administrative Correspondence* ;” but if my memory does not fail me, the author expresses himself there, with not a little contempt of the liberty of the press ; and it will not be un-

fair to consider, as an *amende honorable*, the trouble he has taken to copy our theory. Let us abandon what is personal, and proceed to the conclusion. All parties, I have already observed, speak to-day the same language, but one seeks only to overthrow individuals, the other to defend principles.

It follows that they, who seek the overthrow of individuals, are acting injuriously to principles, because they obstruct the march of the others.

Is it desired, that all these discussions should finish, and that all parties should agree? Let a barrier be erected against personal aggressions; let men no longer appear partisans of a political doctrine, and presumptive heirs of places; let them acknowledge what good the administration has done, and prove that if henceforth it should do all it can, it is no longer a dogma to overthrow it. Then, and then only, the true friends of liberty, will be able to listen to its new allies. The administration will be freer in its actions. It will even become (what must prove no small temptation to its enemies) more inexcusable in its faults. The nation will then know whom to hear, whom to believe, whom to listen to.

Until then mistrustful minds will not be

wanting, who will not fail believing that the plan is to ask, what one does not wish, in order to arrive at what one really wishes. Personal liberty will be gladly bartered against the downfall of the minister of police; the liberty of newspapers against the succession of the minister of the interior, and the liberty of the press against the functions of the president of the council.

THE END.

James Perry Esq
With
the Publishers
Asquith & Co

L E T T E R,

&c. &c.

Price Two Shillings.

THE T. T. H. J.

1878

THE T. T. H. J.

A
L E T T E R

RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED TO

BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT;

ON THE

IMPORTANCE OF LEGISLATIVE INTERFERENCE,

TO PREVENT

The possible Succession

OF

THE FAMILY OF BUONAPARTE

TO

THE CROWN OF THESE REALMS.

BY AN ATTORNEY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COURT
OF KING'S BENCH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JAMES HARPER, 46, FLEET-STREET.

1817.

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W. Flint, Printer, Old Bailey, London.

A
L E T T E R,

&c. &c.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

THE lamented death of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales, whether considered as a national or a family bereavement, is perhaps without parallel one of the most serious that time ever recorded. Viewing it in a national sense, the privation is momentous to the highest degree ; and it will be the business of this Letter to consider it abstractedly as it affects the Line of Succession to the Throne of these Realms.

The writer would not trespass on the hallowed feelings of her family by attempting to describe the chasm, the awful chasm, in the social circle her early death has produced : the imagination would fail to pourtray it, and language, the stupendous vehicle of idea, would not be sufficiently comprehensive to bear her husband and her parent's sorrow to the bosoms of a condoling nation : to her royal relatives, however, it must be a source of infinite satisfaction, under this afflicting stroke of Providence, to mark the universal sympathy of all ranks of society.

To the very event which deprived us of this inestimable character, you, my Lords and Gentlemen, (in common with the kingdom at large,) were looking with loyal anxiety : the ancient House of Este anticipated from it a long succession of heirs ; and England hoped still to be go-

verned under the gentle sceptre of the illustrious House of Brunswick ; but her grave has proved the fallibility of human project, for with her died the last issue of the male line of your honourable and ancient dynasty. This is the circumstance which, I submit, requires the immediate attention of the Legislature ; for, if there be any accuracy in the premises I am about to advance, the blood of that tyrant who is happily secured at St. Helena, may justly lay claim to the regal authority of this country, and again distract with party its peaceful shores.

It will be in your recollection, my Lords and Gentlemen, that the first wife of Frederick, King of Wirtemberg, was Caroline of Brunswick, and that they had issue a daughter, who was married to Jerome Buonaparte, by whom she has a son.

The Princess Catherine (the mother of this child) is the grand-daughter of the late Duchess of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, and as a matter of course grand niece of our beloved and venerable king, and great grand-child of Frederick, late Prince of Wales. From this statement of descent, it is quite clear that the Princess Catherine, otherwise Mrs. Jerome Buonaparte, and the much lamented Princess Charlotte of Wales were equi-distant, and equi-proximate in blood to Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of his present Majesty, being both his great-grand-children, that is, having descended from his loins, he being to them a common ancestor.

Frederick by his only consort the Princess Sophia, left three sons and two daughters. From the three sons there is no legal descendant under the

age of forty years, the marriage of the Duke of Sussex being against the stat. of 12 Geo. III. and therefore declared null and void.

The Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, may certainly have issue, but it is quite possible they may not. The Duke of York, and the Queen of Wirtemberg, are not likely to have children, nor is the Prince Regent: so that of the male line of Frederick, there is among all his male descendants but five existing marriages, and these have produced but one child, namely, the Princess Charlotte; and now she is dead, the question which naturally presents itself is, to whom will the heirship of the crown of Great Britain revert, in the event of the male line of Frederick finally converging in the longest living male of the present royal family.

A question of so much importance, the writer has neither the ability nor the wish to determine; but in humbly suggesting an opinion, he would explicitly declare, that nothing would be more grateful to his feelings than that nature should supersede the necessity of art, that an issue from the male may do away with the necessity of statutory provisions against the female line of Frederick, the common ancestor of all the claimants to this throne.

After having minutely examined the principle of succession, it appears to me that if the male line should totally fail, then the sovereignty would vest in that of the female, namely, the late Duchess of Brunswick, who was the eldest daughter of Frederick, and sister to his present majesty, for the settlement was declared general to the protestant heirs of Sophia.

The line of succession would then run thus, from the last surviving member of the male branch; next in remainder to the Duke of Brunswick, the son of the Duchess; and he failing of issue, next in remainder to the Prince of Wirtemberg, the grandson of the Duchess, and failing his issue, to the Princess Catherine, otherwise Mrs. Jerome Buonaparte, great-grand-child of Frederick Prince of Wales, and, as before stated, grand-niece of our revered Monarch.

I hope, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have made myself perfectly intelligible in tracing the degree of consanguinity. There is now to follow this important enquiry, whether or not the son of the Princess Catherine, by her husband Jerome Buonaparte, would succeed in regular gradation to the crown of this realm?

Mr. Jerome Buonaparte was, in 1807, recognised by the whole of the continental powers as a Prince of the Empire and King of Westphalia: in that character he was married. I am, therefore, disposed to doubt the actual violation of the statute which forbids the Royal Family marrying with the subject; and humbly conceive, that, unless legislative provision be made to the contrary, his pretensions may at least prove sufficient to raise a party on his behalf, should the machinations of the discontented, or the spirit of the times, carry the matter no further.

At the period of the revolution in 1688, a contingency of this kind could never have been thought of: the act of settlement with all its conditions, has not guarded against it; and it clearly remains for you to pass a solemn act of

exclusion, or else suffer young Jerome Buonaparte, the great-grand-nephew of our King, to stand in the order of succession to the crown. The statute of the 11 and 12 William, III. c. 2, settled the crown in remainder, expectant on the death of King William and Queen Anne without issue, on the Princess Sophia, and such heirs only of her body, as are Protestant members of the Church of England: so that professing this religion, young Jerome has a formidable and unanswerable claim on the doctrine of hereditary right: his degree of propinquity to the reigning family on the female side is as near as any other claimant, in as much as he is the offspring descended of the eldest branch of the female line of Frederick, the common ancestor of all the claimants to the sceptre of these realms.

The review of but a few months, will amply illustrate the argument I have humbly ventured to promulgate : we have seen one of “ earth’s least mortal daughters,” hurried away at the moment she became the centre of Britain’s hope. The full extent of the loss, nationally sustained, it is for futurity to develope : we only know, that this afflictive dispensation has completely deranged the plans of the great council of the kingdom ; that our line of kings is disturbed, and we now anxiously turn our attention to those persons, whom fate may, by possibility, place in the regal line. If, then, Jerome Buonaparte may be one of these, surely the constituted authorities of the kingdom, seeing in this lamentable event the great uncertainty of terrene prospects, and human calculation, will take such measures as in their wisdom shall seem fit-

ting to prevent an occurrence so incompatible with the interest and feelings of a loyal and generous people.

The family of Napoleon Buonaparte by alliance is now ennobled: it is connected with many of the ancient and powerful families of Europe; and at the peace of Tilsit in 1807, between France, Russia, and Prussia, Jerome Buonaparte was recognized by the high contracting parties as King of Westphalia. May not circumstances induce some of the foreign potentates to give their aid in establishing the pretensions of his son? May not a sorrowful and unexpected mandate of the Divine Authority, equal to that we have just witnessed, extinguish the whole male line of the house of the Guelphs, and make a plausible inroad to the crown for the Princess Catherine, should she be living, who would by the law of this

country be *Queen Regnant*, and her son, young Jerome Buonaparte, the Prince of Wales?

These, my Lords and Gentlemen, are the considerations which have induced me to solicit the speedy interference of the executive power ; because I am aware that the projects of bad men will gladly embrace the most insignificant opportunity of creating anarchy and confusion : the evil has but budded, yet it does not follow that an unpropitious season may not bring to maturity this poison-tree, which grows so near our royal oak, and seems to expand its deadly branches, whilst on the other hand, the frost of misfortune has robbed the illustrious tree of its leading, its youngest, its noblest branch, and deprived us of the kindly shelter it promised to afford.

My Lords and Gentlemen, the page of history has never recorded so dire a catastrophe as the death of Her Royal Highness. Considering only her relative situation in lineal descent and succession to the throne, the political vacuum occasioned, is of the greatest imaginable importance, and will form one of the most conspicuous events of the present æra: and here I cannot help paying a tributary tear to the virtues and manly resignation of His Serene Highness the Prince of Saxe Coburg, the most desolate of widowers, deprived at once of an angelic consort, and all his prospects of future greatness: a sojourner in a land to which he was only allied by the bond of conjugal love, his misery is commensurate to the exaltation and happiness he had experienced. He has "entertained an angel unawares," and shall have his reward in that world; where suffering and sepa-

ration are sounds unknown ! My Lords and Gentlemen, the apology I offer for this digression, is an appeal to your own feelings on this touching and tremendous trial of Christian fortitude. Individually I offer to the stranger Prince the humble but affectionate condolence of a British heart, thrilled with the knowledge of his irreparable loss : his consort's amiable life will be the oracle of future ages ; our children's children will lisp her praises, and the mighty voice of a grieved nation shall exclaim ESTO PERPETUA !

It may not be irrelevant briefly to examine the limitations upon which the *JUS CORONÆ*, or right of succession to this throne depends. The possession is hereditary, and as in the case of common descendants, the preference is uniformly in favour of the male line, on their failure, it descends to the female by *right of proge-*

ture. Thus Mary succeeded to the throne alone, and did not divide it with Elizabeth. There are, in our history, several instances of the descent reverting to the female line, and continuing in a lineal descent from the person in whom it so vested, exactly in the same way as other inheritance: in case of the total failure of lineal descendants, the crown goes to the next collateral relations of the late king. Thus James I. succeeded to Queen Elizabeth, and it will be observed, “ that
 “ there is no objection to the succession
 “ of collateral relations of the half blood,
 “ that is, where the relationship proceeds
 “ not from the same couple of ancestors
 “ (which constitutes a kinsman of the whole
 “ blood,) but from a single ancestor only,
 “ as when two persons are derived from
 “ the same father, and not from the same
 “ mother, or *vice versa* : provided only,
 “ that the one ancestor, from whom both

“are descended, be that from whose
 “veins the blood royal is communicated
 “to each.” This is the precise doctrine
 of law upon which young Jerome Bu-
 onaparte could claim ; for his mother and
 the Princess Charlotte were equally
 related to Prince Frederick of Wales :
 they were to each other cousins in the first
 degree. Nevertheless, this doctrine of
 hereditary right, does not mean an inde-
 feasible right to the throne, which fact
 is easily gathered from the common lan-
 guage of our statutes, which speaks of
 the King’s Majesty, his heirs and *suc-
 cessors*. These words clearly imply an
 estate of inheritance, subject to be dis-
 solved by a superior power ; and that
 power is lodged in your hands, with the
 consent of the reigning king. In the
 inheritance of the throne there can be no
 such thing as tenant by the courtesy ;
 and therefore if the child of the Princess

had been born alive, still the Prince of Cobourg could not have had a life-estate in the crown. Notwithstanding this limitation, the crown is still hereditary in the wearer, and retains its descendible quality; and therefore, however acquired, it becomes absolutely hereditary, unless it is stipulated to the contrary. The statute of 2 William and Mary, c. 2. enacted, that every person who should be reconciled to, or hold communion with the see of Rome, should profess the Popish religion, or should marry a Papist, should be excluded, and for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown, &c. and the crown should descend to such persons, being Protestants, as would have inherited the same, in case the person so reconciled, holding communion, possessing, or marrying, were naturally dead: from this statutory provision it should seem quite

clear, that it is obligatory on the individual claiming the crown to be a Protestant; it does not entail exclusion to the heirs of Sophia, because their ancestor happened to be a Catholic. And I do therefore humbly contend, that if young Jerome Buonaparte should demand the sceptre of these realms, as a good Protestant, you, my Lords and Gentlemen, have no law extant which can bar his right. Religion, however, is an individual business, and our laws have viewed it as such; for they do not, as I humbly contend, attaint the blood of the heirs of the body of a Catholic claimant of this crown.

Consequently, my Lords and Gentlemen, I humbly submit, that, let the religious opinions of the Princess Catherine, alias Mrs. Jerome Buonaparte, be what they may, (for I have yet to learn them,) provided young Jerome Buonaparte is of the

Protestant faith, should the line revert to the female descendants of succession, (by that of the male becoming extinct) there is at present no law extant which will effectually bar this great grand nephew of the King from his right to succession, as he is the issue of the eldest branch of the female line, and therefore stands before all others by right of primogeniture.

The inscrutable ways of Providence may make that very probable, which at this time appears impossible.

The senate of this country must pass a bill of exclusion, or be for ever exposed to the spawn of the spider Buonaparte, whose sedulous villainy has entangled in his loathsome web the royal houses of Austria and Britain.

My Lords and Gentlemen, the death of

her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte has been the best test of loyalty, and perhaps the most flattering her family ever experienced. England bears now but one aspect : it has one sad countenance : the young and old, the rich and poor, feel the privation ! It is not that description of mourning which custom requires when royalty is no more ; but it is like a family loss, as it is deeply seated in the bosoms of us all. We feel that our matron is gone, that our guardian angel is flown ; the shock was as that of an earthquake : well may her husband have discredited the reality of her death as he hung over her saint-like corpse ! Nor can succeeding generations ever know the popular convulsion it has excited : and the best eulogy the historian or scholar can compose, will but faintly convey to them her intrinsic worth.

My Lords and Gentlemen, the most precious jewel of the diadem has fallen out, when we thought it about to be everlasting: it will, no doubt, be your care, that those eminent men, to whose experience and consummate knowledge it was entrusted, do fully and clearly declare, in the hearing of the whole nation, every minutiae relating to this heart-rending affair: not only should Doctors Sir R. Croft, Baillie, and Sims be examined, but Mrs. Griffiths, the nurse, and all who were in attendance. The conciseness of a bulletin satisfied the thirst of anxiety for the moment: now we linger in the edacity of anguish to know who were with her, and what she said or suffered, that science may record the peculiarity of the case, and English maidens profit from the lesson of connubial bliss which even her death-bed taught; for it is said her hand grew cold in the

embrace of her husband, and her eye continued fixed on him until it was dim in death.

I have not, my Lords and Gentlemen, to learn that there are other scions on the female line of the illustrious house of Brunswick ; *but they are junior in succession to the Princess Catherine, being GREAT-GREAT-grandchildren of Frederick, or children of the younger branches of the family,* their education and habits are partly British : it is therefore very desirable that they should have a pre-eminence of claim. Most people believe this to be the fact, because their parents were *represented* to have been Protestant believers, and their progenitors *royal*, according to the generally accepted meaning of the word. I shall be excused from coming into this view of the subject until the matter has been fairly canvassed

in that high tribunal where only it can be settled ; and the sole object of this Letter is to remove from the minds of all men the possibility of young Jerome Buonaparte reaching the throne of these realms : this can only be done in two ways, the one is by parliament declaring the entire non-existence of his right ; and the other, its complete eradication, should they be of opinion that he has even the shadow of it.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

with the greatest submission,

&c. &c. &c.

New Inn.

THE END.

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Et quicquid volet."

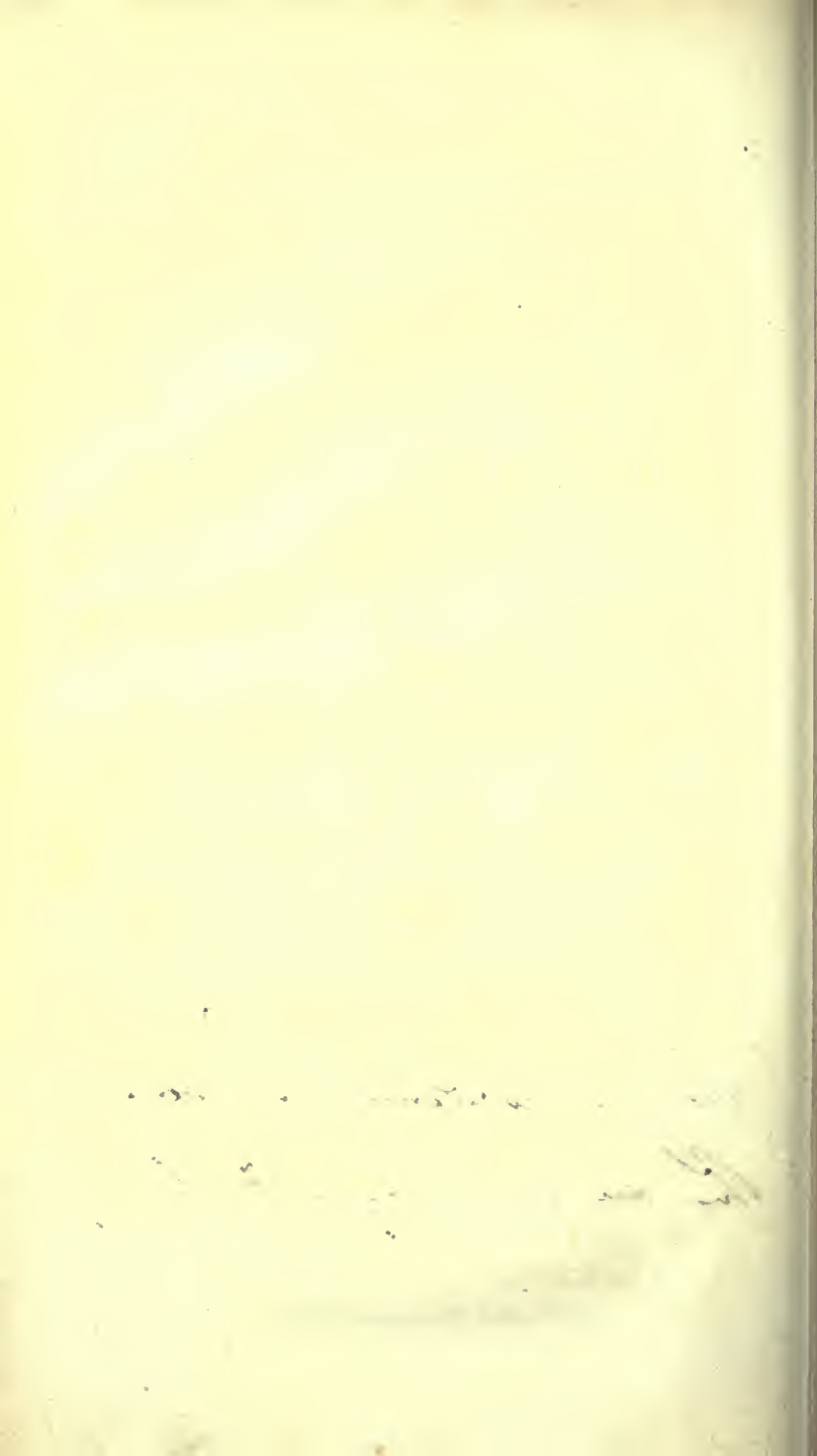
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INTERESTING FACTS,

&c. &c.

To James Perry Esquire and
the authors respectful compliments



*Ass. Forry the. Napol. 5 St Helena.
Vol II P. 386.*

INTERESTING FACTS

RELATING TO

The Fall and Death

OF

JOACHIM MURAT,

KING OF NAPLES;

THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS IN 1815;

AND THE

SECOND RESTORATION

OF

THE BOURBONS :

ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM KING JOACHIM TO THE AUTHOR,

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR, AND OF HIS PERSECUTION BY
THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

BY FRANCIS MACIRONE,

LATE AID-DE-CAMP TO KING JOACHIM ; KNIGHT OF THE ORDER
OF THE TWO SICILIES, &c. &c.

LONDON: -

PRINTED FOR RIDGWAYS, PICCADILLY.

1817.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON

INTERESTING FACTS,

&c. &c.

THE following pages relate to an extraordinary period in the history of Europe, and contain the recital of some anecdotes and circumstances, which cannot fail to be interesting to those who may wish to be informed of every thing connected with the events of that time.

The share I had in some of those events, enables me to impart to my narrative, the important and valuable quality of truth ; yet I should not have ventured to appear before the public as an author, if it were not necessary for the vindication of my character.

Among the first acts of the existing government of France, was the abuse of its newly acquired power by persecuting and oppressing me ; and I know too well, when any government chuses to raise the arm of oppression against an individual, that not only the person, the property, and the character of that individual are in considerable peril, but that his most successful efforts, aided by innocence, are

not always sufficient to secure his escape with his reputation and interests entirely unimpaired.

Whether I merited persecution from any quarter, and particularly whether I merited it from the government of France, the reader will be enabled to judge, when he has perused the following sheets, in which I have fairly exposed every act of my life connected with the events which were then passing.

Without this appeal to the public, I could not wholly relieve myself from the effects of the persecution of which I complain.

It was generally known, the free press of this country, and even the slavish press of France having contributed to make it known, that having been dispatched as the accredited agent of the allied powers, to impart to the late King Joachim of Naples, the determination of those powers in regard to his future destination, on my return (having executed this mission to the best of my ability) I was seized at Marseilles by an order of the French government, my property and papers were taken from me, and myself thrown into a dungeon where I remained twenty-three days, and where I was denied the common necessities of life, that I was removed from thence to Paris, and then confined for upwards of a month in the prisons of the *Conciergerie* and the *Abbaye*.

It is difficult to believe that I could have been treated with all this severity, without having committed some crime by which I had rendered myself

deserving of punishment ; and yet the ingenuity of my persecutors was not sufficient to enable them to discover or to invent, a single charge against me for which they dared to put me upon my trial ; but after a rigid imprisonment, and much insolent and cruel treatment, I was set at liberty, guiltless of any offence, but with my character sullied by the outrages which had been inflicted on me—inflicted on me by the orders of a king, not unacquainted with misfortune, but who, from his indifference to the sufferings of others, seems not to have learnt the lesson which a wise and benevolent man would have derived from calamity.

To make my innocence known co-extensively with the acts of persecution of which I complain, is the principal object of the following pages. A candid statement of my conduct in regard to the transactions which could alone have led the French government to single me out as an object of its vengeance, will not only prove my innocence of any crime, but will, I think, satisfy every unprejudiced mind, that I had a claim to the regard and consideration of the very government which sought to destroy me.

A demand made by the English minister at Paris for my liberation, as an Englishman, was falsely answered by the French minister of police, “ *that I was a native of Rome.*” This reply shews that no ordinary pains had been taken to investigate and ascertain my origin and history, in the hope of

discovering some real or pretended ground for my detention. The answer although not true is so far near the truth—that Rome is the country of my remote and immediate ancestors, and but for the disasters which befel my family, it would probably have been mine also.—There is nothing in the circumstances of my family or myself, with respect to which I would not willingly challenge investigation, and although it will detain my readers for a short time, from the more interesting parts of this publication, yet with the view of engaging more sympathy, I will take the liberty to lay before them a short history of the misfortunes of my house,—misfortunes, with which it could not have been assailed, in a country enjoying like England, the protection of laws administered with justice, without regard to power or station.

My grandfather, Francis Philip Macirone, was at the head of a noble and very wealthy family of Rome. It was a custom at Rome, and I believe in many other countries, for the nobility and rich persons to farm certain branches of the public revenue.

My grandfather engaged in several of these speculations with his government, and besides, obtained a lease of the great alum-mines of La Tolfa,

to which was attached 2700 acres of land, and for which he paid to the government an annual rent of 54,000 crowns.

For many years of this lease, the mines were wholly unproductive, and my grandfather had to pay the enormous rent, without any return. Two or three years before the end of the lease, some valuable veins of alum-ore were discovered, but it was then too late for him to derive much benefit from the discovery, without a renewal of the lease.

My grandfather who was a scientific man, had laid out vast sums in experiments and improvements on these works, the most considerable of which was, the construction, at his own expence, of a magnificent paved road, of upwards of fifteen miles in length, extending from La Tolfa to Civita Vecchia, which road still bears the name of *Via Macirone*. It may therefore be supposed, that the person who had subjected himself to all this expense, would be particularly anxious to renew his lease when the term expired. Offers for a new lease were to be given in to the secretary of state for the finance department. My grandfather delivered in his tender, by which he proposed to pay an additional rent of several thousand crowns.

Monsignore Banchieri, who was then treasurer of Rome, was related to our family, but for some unaccountable reason, he determined to favour the views of the Marquis Lepri, who was likewise our relation, and a secret candidate for the occupa-

tion of these mines. This minister, and the Marquis Lepri, corruptly concerted the means of insuring the acceptance of the proposals of the latter.

The tenders were to be delivered sealed into the office of the treasurer, previously to their being submitted to the inspection of the committee of ministers called the *Camera* or Chamber. Monsignore Banchieri, whose administration was one scene of injustice, violence, and oppression, through the medium of his private secretary, who ultimately bore testimony against him, procured a *seal* to be engraved similar to my grandfather's. He *then* privately broke open his letter of tender, and thereby becoming acquainted with his proposal, inserted a somewhat higher offer in the tender of the Marquis Lepri, for which purpose a blank space had been left in it. By this fraud the minister gained his point—Lepri's offer was accepted, and my grandfather's consequently rejected.

The offer made by my grandfather so considerably exceeded the rent payable by the preceding lease, that this circumstance, together with some others, excited a suspicion, that unfair means had been employed to influence the result. This suspicion acquired double weight from the well known character of the minister Banchieri, whose name at Rome, is synonymous with every thing base, deceitful, and malignant.

It appears that at the expiration of the lease here spoken of, the Papal Government, aggregately

termed *La Camera*, was indebted to my grandfather in very considerable sums, independent of the amount he had expended in the construction of the *Via Macirone*, which that government had agreed to repay him.

The government influenced by Banchiere, proved false to its engagements, and a law-suit was commenced by my grandfather, for the purpose of enforcing them ; in which the fact of his letter having been privately opened, was proved in all its circumstances.--The minister's private secretary, who had been employed on the occasion, confessed his crime ; the engraver who had made the imitation of my grandfather's seal, and the original seal itself, were both discovered ; and my grandfather obtained a decree of the supreme tribunal of Rome, (*La Rota*) that ample reparation should be made him ; that he should be put in possession of the alum-mines, and that the *Camera* should defray the enormous costs which had been incurred. But the Papal Government interposed its authority to prevent the execution of this decree, and to renew and protract the suit, but, after several years of persevering exertion, the same tribunal issued a second decree to the same effect in our favour.

In England, where the laws are so wisely and impartially administered, it will scarcely be believed that a government would dare to interpose its authority, to stop the course of justice, and to deprive an individual of his rights ; particularly

after those rights had been solemnly investigated and confirmed by two successive determinations of a court of competent jurisdiction: but so it was in this case; and the execution of the second decree was evaded as the first had been. The payments were delayed, and it became necessary to have recourse to other proceedings. From the experience of the past, no solid hope could be entertained, that even a third favourable decree would be productive of any beneficial consequence. The effort was however made; and after the lapse of fifteen years of renewed and increased exertion, the former decrees were confirmed, and another sterile victory was the result. Upon any less cogent authority than the documents relating to this subject, I should have difficulty in stating, that this third decision was disregarded by the unjust government of Pope Pius the Sixth.

The former immense losses which my grandfather had sustained, and the enormous expence of this tedious suit, had compelled him to sell, or incumber, nearly the whole of his property, in, and near Rome, as well as an estate which had belonged to him, near Ponte Corvo on the river Garigliano, in the kingdom of Naples.* He persisted, how-

* This place, which is one of the most fertile and picturesque spots in the world, is to be found in the good maps of Italy under the name of *Villa Macirone*. A short time ago the estate belonged to the national domains of Naples, and

ever, in his claim for several years longer, till at length overcome by the weight of his misfortunes he died from disgust and chagrin.

Four sons and two daughters were left to share the remnant of his property. The daughters had already abandoned the world, and retired to the convent of St. Cecilia, where they are still secluded. The sons sought different fortunes, two of them entered the French army, of whom one perished in the American war. My father, who was the eldest, had obtained through the patronage of the Marquis Tanucci, then prime minister at Naples, the post of Neapolitan consul-general at Marseilles. On the resignation of the Marquis Tanucci, my father lost his situation. It was then that he entered the French army, in which he served several years. During the period of peace which preceded the French revolution, he travelled over the greater part of Europe and some part of Asia. He at length settled in England, where he married an English lady, and has since devoted himself entirely to commercial pursuits.

Thus by the strong hand of despotism was a family overthrown which for centuries had enjoyed an uninterrupted series of prosperity and honour. Of our former possessions all that now remains to us at Rome is a splendid sepulchre in the church of St. Louis; and our cause, which continues in the
had King Joachim preserved his kingdom, I should have been (according to his promise) put in possession of it.

state in which it was left by my grandfather, the reiterated decrees in our favour being unrevoked. I have in my possession all the papers and documents respecting it, and should fortune ever put it in my power I shall resume the claim with a confident hope of success, founded on the reformed mode in which the functions of government are now exercised, and justice is administered in that country.

One only of my grandfather's sons remained at Rome, where he held the respectable situation of director-general of the posts, and was much esteemed. At his repeated solicitations my father determined to send me, his eldest son, to Italy; and in the year 1803 at the age of fifteen, I left England for the first time, to visit the land of my Italian ancestors.

About six months after my arrival one of the fevers so prevalent in Rome attacked my uncle's family, and nine members of it, including my uncle and aunt, were its victims. My aunt was at that time only twenty-five years of age, and was justly celebrated as one of the most beautiful and amiable women in Italy.

I remained in Rome ten months after this desolating catastrophe, when at the desire of my father, who wished me to acquire a knowledge of commercial affairs, I repaired to Naples,* and lived for some

* I shall ever remember with pleasure the delightful pedestrian journey I made from Rome to Naples, through the Apennines with Mr. R. Smirke, who now ranks so high in his profession as an architect.

time as the guest of a friend of his, an eminent merchant in that city. In the year 1809 some personal difference having arisen between us, I left his house and discontinued my commercial education, and from that period, disengaged from any particular pursuit, I lived either alone or with an English friend.

Soon after the occupation of Naples by the French, in 1805, I was preparing to return to England, and had actually obtained my passport, when in consequence of the noted decree of Berlin, I was constituted a prisoner of war, and detained as such in that country nearly seven years. In the year 1812 I obtained an order for my exchange with a French officer named Daure, who was a prisoner in England; and I should have immediately proceeded to my native country, but I was much reduced by a typhus fever I had caught in the marshes about Minturnum; and my departure was besides delayed by my being compelled to wait for a remittance from England, the letter which contained it having been detained (from what cause I know not) eleven months on its way to Naples.

About this time Lord William Bentinck landed at Naples, and concluded the well known arrangement with King Joachim, who from that moment became a party in the coalition against France. During my long captivity, I had become intimate with most of the principal persons of the Neapolitan court, many of whom had known my

family and connections at Rome, and I was generally favoured with their particular regard.

It will not appear surprising that under these circumstances I should be induced to enter the Neapolitan service. I had no particular avocation—no fortune to depend upon for my future existence, while a brilliant career was thus opened to me in the service of an ally of Great Britain. Through the recommendation of my friends, and from some previous knowledge which the king had of me, he was pleased to place me near his person, in quality of aide-de-camp. I served him with zeal and disinterestedness. His cause and that of my country were then the same. I received from him such marks of kindness as he thought I deserved for doing my duty, which however never consisted in the exercise of any functions incompatible with my feelings as an Englishman, and my allegiance to the sovereign of my own country.

Here I may be permitted to make a few observations on the character of the sovereign in whose service I engaged, in vindication of my own conduct as well as that of numerous Englishmen of high rank and character, whose courteous and liberal reception at the Neapolitan court, has by the prejudiced and uninformed been made the subject of calumniating reflection, instead of being considered, as in truth it was, an honourable distinction conferred upon them by a valiant and generous prince—by one who was highly attached to the British name and

character—by one too, whose ruin was aided if not ultimately consummated, by his implicit confidence in British faith and honour. King Joachim was eminently gifted with that nobleness and generosity of character which Englishmen so well know how to appreciate. The treatment the English prisoners received from the government was highly indulgent, even to the extent of being allowed the singular privilege of visiting, upon their parole, Rome, Florence, and every part of Italy. Whenever it was necessary to defend a national privilege, and the dignity of his crown, or to display the benevolence of his heart, he did not hesitate to offer resistance to the government of France, all powerful as that government then was, and abundant as were his reasons for endeavouring to keep the favour of the ruler of that country. Instances of such resistance several times occurred in behalf of the English prisoners in Naples, when the French government demanded that they should be sent to the dépôts in France.

In the 14th article of a treaty formed in the beginning of 1814, between Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, it was stipulated that this treaty should not be an obstacle to any engagement that the high contracting powers might have made with other states, nor hinder them from forming other treaties in the view of obtaining the result which that treaty contemplated, namely, the success of the war against Napoleon. It was thought that nothing would more effectually conduce to this end than de-

priving Napoleon of his only remaining ally, the King of Naples—an ally, who evidently then held the fate of Italy in his hands. With this view Austria dispatched Count Neiperg to Naples, and on the 11th January, 1814, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed between Austria and Naples, with the sanction of the allies ; and it is a notorious fact, that in the conferences at Chatillon, the French plenipotentiaries having presented divers propositions concerning Italy, they were answered by the ministers of the four great powers—“ That Italy then formed no part of the question, the coalition having already resolved to re-establish the ancient governments of that country, *except at Naples, where the title of King Joachim had been recognised by virtue of a treaty which Austria had concluded, and to which England had acceded.*”*

When King Joachim received the proposal to enter into the coalition, he declared in the most precise terms to Count Neiperg, the Austrian plenipotentiary, “ That he would never carry his arms beyond the *frontiers of his own kingdom*, or take an active part in the war against France, until he had engaged in a previous treaty of peace and alliance with England.”

The views of the king upon this point, proved perfectly conformable to those of Austria and the

* The treaty here spoken of, is that of 11th January, 1814.

other coalesced powers. A treaty between Great Britain and Naples, would allow of the disposal and employment against the common enemy, not only of the forces of King Joachim, but also of those which the English had in Sicily; and the Austrian plenipotentiary declared that England was ready to accede to the proposed treaty, and that Lord Aberdeen was provided with full powers for that purpose. This declaration was confirmed by the exhibition of a letter from the English minister, in which Lord William Bentinck was enjoined to lose no time in concluding a preliminary convention with the King of Naples, which should put an end to hostilities between the two states.

Lord William Bentinck arrived at Naples in the English frigate, the *Furieuse*, in the beginning of January, 1814, and signed a convention with the Neapolitan government, which was not a mere armistice, but which placed affairs on a footing of perfect peace. A *free commercial intercourse* was authorized, and it declared that *the ports should be reciprocally open to the people of the two nations*. This carried with it the positive recognition of the Neapolitan flag: in short, the convention was considered by the contracting parties, as having so perfectly the force of a treaty of alliance, though it might not yet have the form, that no time was lost in arranging the plan of the campaign, in which the Austrian, English, and Neapolitan troops should

simultaneously act for the attainment of the same object.

The king immediately opened the campaign, and advanced with his army to Bologna, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty with Austria. On his arrival at that place, he learnt by a messenger from Basil, that some modifications were proposed. His surprise was at first very great, as the conditions of the treaty had been previously approved by the Austrian government. It turned out, however, that there was nothing objectionable in the proposed alterations, which had been suggested, not by Austria, *but by England*; and the King of Naples was assured that if they were admitted, then the treaty might be regarded as being in common with Great Britain. These modifications did not in any way alter the substance of the stipulations previously agreed to, they only related to territorial indemnifications which were to be granted to King Joachim at the expence of the Papal See.*

The propositions on this subject were highly acceptable to the feelings of the king; he considered them as a reiterated proof of the sincerity of the English government; and he caused it to be made known to Lord Castlereagh that he should rely on the word of an English minister with as much

* See Lord Wm. Bentinck's note addressed to the King of Naples, marked (D) in the Appendix.

confidence as if the treaty had been already concluded in the most solemn form. But the English government did not think it proper that the king should remain without a formal guarantee on its part; and Lord William Bentinck having arrived at the head-quarters of the king, declared anew, that his government entirely adhered to the treaty concluded on the 11th January, between his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Majesty the King of Naples; and that it assented to the advantages stipulated in favour of the king, under the conditions insisted upon by Austria, of an active and immediate co-operation of the Neapolitan army with the allied forces.

This declaration, which perfectly agreed with all that had been before said by Lord Castlereagh, was confirmed by several dispatches from that minister, which were communicated to the king, and particularly by a letter in which Lord Castlereagh declared,* “ *that it was only from motives of delicacy towards the King of Sicily, that the English government was induced to delay for a moment the conclusion of a particular and special treaty of alliance with the King of Naples; the British government being desirous that a treaty of indemnity to the King of Sicily, which could not yet be framed, should go hand in hand with the treaty of alliance with King*

* See Appendix, note of Lord W. Bentinck, marked (D).

“ *Joachim.*” If further confirmation of this treaty were wanted, it would be found in the unequivocal fact of the Neapolitan and English troops having fought together under King Joachim’s command against the common enemy.

The King of Naples had thus engaged in the war against France, and the allied powers were indebted to him for a support which enabled them to pursue the advantages which they had already obtained. *Without his co-operation the invasion of France would never have been attempted, (although Swiss deputies had offered the Pont d’Or for the passage into France of Prince Schwartzenburg’s army.)*—The declaration of Prince Schwartzenburg and of the ministers and generals of Austria on this subject are extant, and prove the assertion beyond the possibility of contradiction.

When Prince Eugene quitted the line of the Adige, and fell back on the Mincio, Marshal Bellegarde addressed a letter to the King of Naples, in which he ascribed *this movement, which caused the surrender of Verona, uncovered Venice, and abandoned the fortresses of Osopo, Legnago, &c. &c. solely and entirely to the advance of the Neapolitan army*—This letter, which did so much honour to the candour of the marshal, and so much justice to the king, is a document still in existence.

If the King of Naples had been hostilely disposed towards the allies, he might have discomfited the whole plan of their campaign, and obliged them to

withdraw from the Rhine to *defend Vienna*, then covered by a badly composed disposable force of only 36,000 men,* against which the King of Naples united with Prince Eugene, might have marched an army of 25,000 French, 30,000 Neapolitans, and 40,000 veteran Italians.—Even a defensive attitude in concert with Prince Eugene, would have defeated all the views of the coalition, and obtained an honourable peace for Napoleon, with the much desired independence of Italy.

A variety of circumstances had now combined to induce the king to doubt the sincerity of the allies.† The Emperor of Austria had delayed for many days the transmission of his ratification of the treaty of the 11th January. Ferdinand of Sicily had published an order of the day‡ to some Sicilian troops about to land at Leghorn, in which they were informed that they were going to recover his kingdom of Naples, which he had never ceded, and never would cede. The English general, Lord W. Bentinck, had landed with these troops, under instructions to excite a revolution in Italy,§

* There were besides about 30,000 men sick in the hospital.

† It was under the influence of this doubt, that the hesitation on the part of the king occurred, which Lord Wm. Bentinck complains of in his note : see Appendix (D).

‡ See Appendix (B).

§ See Appendix, Lord W. Bentinck's Proclamation to the Italians, and his letter of instructions to Colonel Ceravignac, marked (A) and (C).

*and had insisted on the maintenance of a position (Tuscany) which intercepted the communication between the Neapolitan army and Naples; propositions at the same time were made in a foreign camp to Neapolitan generals and other officers for the expulsion of the then reigning dynasty from the throne of Naples. The doubts which these circumstances had excited, were removed by a declaration of General Sir Robert Wilson, at Bologna; * that he considered the letter of Lord Castlereagh, containing the promise of a formal treaty, as of equal value and force with a treaty already signed. And that neither the executive authority, nor the parliament, would hesitate to recognize the validity of such an engagement. Indeed, it was in his opinion, more imperative, if possible, than a regular treaty, because it connected an appeal to honour with an obligation on good faith. From that moment the king again made the most zealous efforts in the common cause.*

That the King of Naples was in the result an enemy to France, in the *degree that he assisted the success of the allies* is undeniable; but it must in justice be stated, that he was induced to become so in consequence of Napoleon's having expressed a resolution to *dethrone him and incorporate Naples*

* Sir Robert Wilson, who was then British commissioner at the Austrian Italian army, had been appointed by Lord William Bentinck and Marshal Bellegarde, to negotiate with the king, and remove the existing misunderstandings.

with the kingdom of Italy. He knew that this design was only suspended, not relinquished. It was proposed, indeed, by Napoleon, as an indemnification, to make the king his captain-general, or constable of the empire, a post certainly of great honour, but inferior to an independent sovereignty of one of the finest countries of Europe, and which assured royal establishments to his children, already educated under that expectation.

The king, when informed of Napoleon's resolution, boldly avowed in his presence, that he would defend his throne by force of arms; and he ever afterwards felt that there was no security for his kingdom, whilst the French maintained dominion in Italy. He therefore co-operated with the allies, to confine the empire of Napoleon to *the Alps, the Rhine and the Pyrenees, confiding in the professed policy of Napoleon's father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, and in the strong ties by which he was bound to the family of Napoleon, which alone furnished a natural guarantee that the war against the power of France would not be converted into a personal war against his daughter, the husband of that daughter, and his grandson.*

The King of Naples would never have consented to the dethronement of Napoleon, who had given him his sister in marriage, and a sceptre; he never intended to assist in the conquest of France, his native country, and still the country of the former coadjutors of his fortunes. On various occasions

he expressed the strongest feelings on these points, so that the allied powers were never deceived by him as to the extent of the assistance on which they might calculate, or the nature of his co-operation.

The history of the campaign of the allies against the French, both in France and Italy, in 1813, and 1814, is so generally known, as to make it unnecessary for me to dwell upon it. It would besides be deviating from my purpose ; but it is necessary, in order to explain the cause which induced King Joachim to attack the Austrians in the following year, 1815, that I should remind my reader, that in January, of that year, the congress was still assembled at Vienna, that Prince Talleyrand, on the part of King Louis, was indefatigable in his exertions to induce the Austrian government to withdraw their alliance from the King of Naples, from whom the allied powers had so recently received the most efficient support.*

It is impossible to divine the motives, either of policy, or of good faith, by which the British ministers were induced to join their efforts to those of France, to effect the destruction of a sovereign, whose alliance and co-operation they had so lately

* The enmity of Talleyrand to King Joachim was suspected to be of a personal nature, and that this enmity was increased by the loss of his principality of Beneventum, which was attached by the king to the *national domains* of Naples, on the king's accession to the coalition in 1814.

courted and enjoyed, and whose throne they had so lately guaranteed. Certain it is, that the Austrian government, being warmly urged to undertake the holy war of *legitimacy* against its ally, the King of Naples, at length expressed its willingness to comply, but alleged the exhausted state of the finances of the country. This difficulty was, it is said, immediately removed by the British ministers, who offered to defray all the expence of the expedition, and moreover to furnish a British fleet, in preference to a French fleet, as proposed by Talleyrand in his famous note, which fleet should act in concert with, and assist the movements of the Austrian forces.

That this proposal was *formally* acceded to by Austria, I have had no satisfactory proof; it is sufficient to know that the King of Naples was fully acquainted with this negotiation, but not at that time of the part which Great Britain took in it. This knowledge led him to demand permission to pass eighty thousand men through Italy to attack France, and finally to adopt the measures which proved so fatal to him. It would have been happy for him if he had listened to the earnestly reiterated advice of his ministers both at Vienna and in England, who persisted in recommending him to remain in a defensive, though menacing attitude within his own frontiers; a line of policy in which the queen, who is possessed of the most brilliant talents, and of the deepest penetration, entirely concurred.

The same persons who were anxious to promote the war of Austria against King Joachim had recourse to various modes of exciting him to strike the first blow. I have myself read the dispatches to which he alludes in his letter to me*, wherein *those pretended* friends assure him that the Austrians were making every preparation to attack him, and advising him by all means to be before-hand with them, especially as he might be fully assured of the neutrality of England, whose interest it never could be to allow Austria the entire dominion in Italy.

These persuasions induced the king to attack the Austrians, at the very moment, as it afterwards turned out, that the apprehensions of his union with Napoleon, who had just returned to France from Elba, had determined the British cabinet to attend to the invocations of justice in his favour. Lord Castlereagh had written to the Duke of Wellington, who was at that time the plenipotentiary of the British court at Vienna, and informed him that in consequence of the re-appearance of Napoleon at the head of the French nation, the British ministers had thought it advisable to unite all the force they could collect, and had consequently come to a determination immediately to conclude a treaty of alliance with the King of Naples.—The duke was moreover enjoined to communicate this determination to the other powers assembled in

* See Appendix (G).

congress, in which they were to be invited by him to join.

Unfortunately the King of Naples could not foresee this unexpected change in his favour, and in an unlucky hour he made the attack on the Austrians, and drove them from position to position as far as the banks of the Po.—In vain had the Austrian army attempted with a superior force to defend the passage of the Panaro, they were overthrown by the Neapolitans in a sanguinary conflict and driven beyond Reggio.—The advanced guard of the centre of the Neapolitan army was already at Reggio, that of the right at Redina and Occhiobello; the left, commanded by General Pignatelli Strongoli, occupied Florence and extended its advanced posts as far as Pistoja. In this state of things the arrival of the king at Milan was confidently expected by the inhabitants, as well as by 40,000 disbanded Italians, who had shared the glory of the French armies in innumerable victories, and who most ardently desired to join the standard of independence under the King of Naples.

At this juncture, Colonel Dalrymple arrived at Bologna, King Joachim's head-quarters, and I was then informed, that he was commissioned by Lord William Bentinck, to request that the territory of his Britannic Majesty's ally, the King of Sardinia, might not be violated by the Neapolitan army. To this request, the king very readily agreed, being

still infatuated with the idea that England would not interfere in his quarrel with Austria. This ill-timed condescension unhappily became one of the principal causes of his ruin. He might easily have forced the passage of the Po at Piacenza, which was in a defenceless state, but in the attempt he would have infringed upon a small corner of the Piedmontese territory, instead of which he directed his principal efforts against Occhiobello, which he could not force. In addition to this mischance, the courier who should have brought from England the intelligence of the amicable change of British policy was taken prisoner by the Austrians and sent to Vienna, where the news of the discomfiture of the Austrian armies, and the before-mentioned instructions of Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Wellington, to conclude a treaty of alliance with Naples, arrived on one and the same day.

On King Joachim's first arrival at Bologna, the Austrians made several ineffectual overtures to effect an accommodation ; and if the courier from England had not been intercepted, there is no doubt but that all differences would have been arranged, or at any rate the king would have had full time to make an orderly retreat behind his own almost impregnable frontiers.

At this time the king was surprised at receiving a notification from Lord William Bentinck, that his instructions were to join the Austrians against him. An hesitation in his movements ensued, he

decided upon a retreat, which would have been most regular and effectual, if General Pignatelli Strongoli had not at this crisis most unexpectedly evacuated Florence, leaving the Roman road completely open to the Austrian General Nugent, who in consequence was much beforehand with the king, and rendered his homeward march most urgent and precipitate. I was very nearly made prisoner by this unaccountable evacuation. I entered Florence just after break of day with orders from the king for General Pignatelli, who unknown to me had evacuated the place two hours before, and I very unexpectedly found myself surrounded in the middle of the town by Austrian cavalry ; I had, however, the good fortune to effect my escape without sustaining any injury.

The interesting letter written to me by King Joachim*, whilst in Corsica, best explains the causes which led to his defeat and the loss of his kingdom. False information, and an unconquerable daring spirit of defiance, roused by a sense of injustice, had again urged him to confide his fortunes to the sword.

On the king's approach to Naples with a small remnant of his army, ten thousand of the national guard, with General Macdonald, minister of war, at their head, marched forth to meet him. They greeted his return in the most loyal and affectionate manner, exhorting him still to hope for success in

* See Appendix (G).

the love and devotedness of his subjects, swearing that they were all ready to perish in defence of their king and country ; but in consequence of the part England had taken against him, he declined making any further efforts, which would only tend to involve the brave and loyal in his own catastrophe.

He entered Naples unknown in the evening of the 19th May, accompanied by his nephew, who was colonel of the ninth regiment of Lancers, and four privates. He immediately proceeded to his palace, where he appeared before the queen pale and emaciated in the habit of a lancer ; tenderly embracing her, he said, “ All is lost, madam, but my life ; that I have not been able to lose.”*

Having taken farewell of his children, he caused his hair, which he had hitherto worn in long ringlets to be cut short, and habited in a plain grey suit, accompanied by his nephew, the colonel, he proceeded on foot to the sea-shore, opposite to the Island of Nisida. He there embarked in a little boat, and proceeded to the neighbouring Island of

* During the retreat, the king was ever seen where the danger was greatest. Foremost in the ranks, he continually charged the Austrians in person. When his affairs grew desperate, it became evident that he sought for death in the field. At the head of a few of his cavalry, whom he constantly preceded, he often charged the enemy to their very cannon's mouth. How he escaped amidst so many dangers appears miraculous. He might well say, that “ he had sought death, but “ had not been able to find it.”

Ischia. There he remained three days without being known, and on the fourth, as he was walking on the sea-shore on the southern side of the island in company with the colonel, consulting about the means of effecting their escape to France, they discovered a small vessel to the east in full sail approaching the spot where they were standing.

The king immediately hailed the vessel, and getting into a fishing-boat which was on the shore, ordered the crew to row towards it, and as soon as they were perceived a boat was sent from the vessel to meet them. The feelings of all parties may easily be imagined, when in one of the persons on board, the king recognized his attached and faithful servant, the Duke of Roccaromana,† to whom the vessel belonged, and who in company with the Marquis Giuliano, the king's aide-de-camp, had escaped from Naples, and was proceeding in this vessel in search of the king, under the greatest anxiety and apprehension, lest some accident might have befallen him, although previously to quitting the palace, the king had divided with the duke and marquis a considerable sum in gold, and acquainted them with his plan of going to Ischia, accompanied only by his nephew, and of embarking from thence to France.

The duke could not succeed in effecting his escape from Naples until three days after the depar-

* The duke was the king's master of the horse, *Gran Scudiere*.

ture of the king. The enemy's flag had been hoisted in Ischia, and it appeared highly improbable under all circumstances that the king could have remained there concealed for those three days. It was unsafe for the duke to attempt landing on the island, and yet there appeared no other means of ascertaining whether the king was there or had proceeded on his voyage. In this embarrassment it happened that the duke, who was most anxiously examining the shore of the island with a glass, perceived and recognized the king. The rest of their voyage proved most prosperous and expeditious. They landed at Cannes, the 27th or 28th of May.

I must here suspend the history of what further befel the king, in order to continue the recital of my own story.

After having so fortunately effected my escape from Florence, I laid aside my uniform and accoutrements, and proceeded in disguise to Genoa, where I had to deliver a dispatch from the king's minister of foreign affairs to Lord William Bentinck. I here saw his lordship on the 19th April, and delivered my dispatch to him, and at the same time assured him, that if on my arrival in London, where I was going with other dispatches, I should find that England had declared against the King of Naples, I should from that moment quit the Neapolitan service, and I begged him to bear testimony to my declaration and intention.

I left Genoa the same evening, (19th April) and arrived in London on the 28th. I immediately repaired with my dispatches to the Neapolitan charge d'affaires, who informed me that several days before my arrival, he had had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, who acquainted him that the British ministry had thought it incumbent on them to lend their aid to their ally the Emperor of Austria. I was, however, permitted to hope, that there still remained some prospect of accommodation, should the circumstances of the campaign be such as to induce Austria to resume negotiations with the King of Naples.

I was at that time totally ignorant, that the Neapolitan army under the king had commenced its retreat, as I had left head-quarters at Bologna two days previous to that fatal movement. On the contrary, I participated in the general opinion, that the king would in a few days be in possession of Milan, where a veteran force anxiously awaited him, and that his opponents would certainly be disposed to renew their treaties. Under these circumstances, I considered it incumbent upon me as a last duty to procure a safe conveyance of the answers which I had received to my dispatches. I thought it not improbable that on my arrival at the army, I should find that hostilities had ceased, in which case I should have resumed my functions, otherwise I determined to deliver my dispatches, together with my resignation, and return immediately to England. I am

led to enter into these particulars, which trivial as they may appear, are still necessary for explaining my conduct at this crisis, which conduct has been described as inconsistent with my character as an Englishman.

I left England with an English friend, who proposed to accompany me to Italy, and we arrived together in Paris the beginning of May.

The reports contained in the French papers concerning the operations of the Austrian and Neapolitan armies in Italy, evidently appeared to me, who had a knowledge of the positions and localities, to be composed of the grossest falsehood ; but I felt unwilling to proceed any further on my journey until I could acquire some authentic information concerning the real state of affairs. With this view I repeatedly applied to the Duke of Otranto, who from his supposed personal regard for the King of Naples, as well as in his capacity of minister of the French police, was the person most likely to possess the knowledge I so anxiously desired ; but I could not succeed in obtaining any direct or positive information from him. He complained much of the imprudence and impolicy of the King of Naples, in having undertaken this campaign against the Austrians, entirely without the knowledge of Napoleon, and without any concert with him. He seemed unwilling to disclose all he knew, but earnestly advised me to delay my departure for a few days. I received the same advice from the Neapolitan

chargé d'affaires, who had left London, and was then at Paris on his way to Geneva.

Under these circumstances I remained at Paris from day to day, until I received intelligence of the king's having been forced to quit Italy, and take refuge in France in the manner I have already related.

Our journey to Italy being thus impeded, and neither my companion nor myself wishing to return so soon to England, we continued in Paris, which my friend was then visiting for the first time. It will be remembered that for some time, it was far from being a decided question whether the allies were unanimous in their opinions of the expediency or policy of their war against France. From their declarations, as well as from those of our own ministers in parliament, it was generally believed that the threatened hostility would at all events be directed only against the person of Napoleon. But how his cause could be separated from that of the French nation, was a point not easily to be determined. The patriotic enthusiasm which animated the French people, appeared to be a prognostic of the repulse and overthrow of those whom they termed their officious oppressors, or at least that no effort on their parts would be wanting to accomplish this object. The time for preparation was short, and the want of arms was particularly felt. General Suchet, who commanded in the south-west, was from this want constrained to forego the

services of twenty-six thousand of the multitude, who in the space of five days had flocked to his standard.

It was now reported, particularly amongst the English who yet remained in Paris, that at the approaching assembly of the *Champ de Mai* it was the intention of the emperor to abdicate the throne in favor of his son. It was naturally expected that such a measure would not fail to detach Austria from the coalition, which in consequence would be in a manner dissolved, particularly as the professed object of their union would have been obtained, while the chances of a successful issue of the war would have been greatly multiplied against them, if they deviated from their professions.

In this interesting and momentous state of things, there could be no impropriety in remaining at Paris; numbers of my countrymen of high rank and respectability still resided there. I thought it even my duty to remain, until I could ascertain whether it might not be in my power to render some service to the unfortunate King Joachim, to whom I felt myself attached by the strongest ties of duty and gratitude.

After the arrival of King Joachim at Cannes was made known at Paris, he was daily expected there; but being myself impatient of delay, and misled by false information, I undertook two fruitless journies, one to Fontainebleau, the other to Compeigne, in the hope of finding him. It was not long,

however, before I learnt that he had written to Fouché, desiring him to apprise Napoleon that it was his intention to proceed to Paris. Napoleon, by way of answer, demanded, "what treaty of peace had been concluded between France and Naples since 1814?" Fouché shortly after addressed a letter to King Joachim, which I have read, in which he informed him, that although it was necessary for him to remain where he was, yet in that situation he might be of essential service to his country, by animating the troops and inhabitants to the noble assertion of their rights, and to a vigorous resistance of the attempt *to force a government upon them*. This, however, was a branch of service in which the king could not possibly have effected much, as he had fallen into great disrepute with the French soldiery, for having declared war against France in 1814, to which measure they attributed all their subsequent disasters.

Some days prior to the commencement of hostilities in Flanders, I was informed by M. De Coussy, who had been private secretary to the King of Naples, but had then retired to Paris, that the king was on his way from Toulon to occupy a country house in the vicinity of Lyons; that he wished much to obtain permission to retire to England, and that he desired to confer with me on the subject, previously to my making the necessary application in his behalf. I had obtained my passport, and was just on the point of setting out for Lyons, when the

battle of Waterloo was fought. I thought it expedient to wait the ensuing events at Paris, where I might probably have an opportunity of serving the king more effectually than by joining him at Lyons ; and it will be seen in the proper place that in this particular I had not formed an unfounded conjecture.

Immediately after the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon returned to Paris, and abdicated the throne in *favour of his son, who would have been accepted and proclaimed by the French people*, but for the opposition of two celebrated individuals.

On this abdication a commission of government, as it was called, was formed, consisting of Fouché, the president, Caulaincourt, Carnot, Quinette, and Grenier.

On the 26th of June, I believe, the Duke of Wellington at the head of his victorious army reached Compeigne. In the course of the following night a deputation of five persons was sent to him from Paris by the two chambers, to solicit an armistice for a few days. The avowed purpose of this mission was to afford time for the return of another deputation, which had been dispatched to the allied sovereigns, to assert the right of the French people to choose their own government, in conformity to the declaration of the allies, *that they warred against the person of Napoleon only, and not against the French people, or to force upon them any particular government.*

The Chamber of Deputies, the majority of the commissioners of government, and the army, now in great strength in Paris, were *determined* to resist *any attempt to force the Bourbons upon them*; while the avowed opinion of Fouché and Caulaincourt was, that such a determination could only lead to the destruction of Paris, and the loss of thousands of lives. They, therefore, sought the means of opening a communication with the Duke of Wellington, in which they might impart to him their views, and avert the calamity which they apprehended from the projects of the other parties. In the expediency of procuring an armistice for a few days, *all parties concurred*; and Fouché, who had become acquainted with me in my interviews with him respecting King Joachim, solicited me to undertake the task of carrying on a communication between him and the Duke of Wellington. It was sufficient for me to know that the service in which I was to be engaged, had for its object the prevention of a sanguinary conflict, which an attempt to take Paris by force would have occasioned, and I therefore consented to be the bearer of Fouché's message to the duke.

My feelings as an Englishman entirely influenced my conduct in this instance. I exulted in the success of our army, and in the military glory which the English name had acquired; and it appeared to me, that whatever might tend to prevent the further

effusion of blood, must be highly acceptable to my country ; and to be selected as an instrument by which so humane and desirable an object might be accomplished, was highly gratifying to my mind, and I should not have thought myself at liberty to refuse to engage in it, from any opinion I might entertain of the private views of the persons by whom I should be employed. Impressed with these sentiments, I left Paris at midnight. I proceeded to the Barriere de la Villette, where I found some difficulty in getting my carriage over the different entrenchments and abbattis, but still more from the French officers, who evinced the greatest reluctance in permitting me to pass, observing that I was probably a person sent out to treat with the enemy, and to betray them ; but on my assuring them that the purport of my mission was entirely analogous to their views and interests, I was suffered to proceed without a trumpet. Before I had got beyond the French lines, I was again stopped by a piquet of cuirassiers, who refused to let me pass without an order from the officer commanding the inner posts ; and while I was asserting my right to proceed, a cuirassier fortunately happened to hold a light to my face, and very respectfully accosted me with the salutation of "*bon voyage, Major,*" his comrades immediately asked him who I was, he answered, "it's the major of the 9th Hussars," for whom I suppose he had mistaken me. This was instantly believed ;

and greeted by the salutations and good wishes of the whole troop, I was allowed to continue my journey.

The Prussian advanced posts were at less than two miles distant, and I was consequently very soon stopped by a Prussian lancer, who upon my telling him that I was an English officer, proceeding with dispatches to the Duke of Wellington, immediately accompanied me to the next post. Here I learnt with great pleasure, that this advanced guard of cavalry was commanded by Prince William of Prussia, whose first aide-de-camp, Baron Rochow, was my particular friend.

I soon arrived at the spot where Prince William and his staff were sleeping, in a field before a large fire, under some trees. I enquired for my friend Baron Rochow. His name was called, and I immediately had the pleasure of seeing him. After a few urgent questions, he proposed to introduce me to Prince William, who by this time had raised himself upon his mattress. The Prince received me with the greatest politeness, and directed that I should be presented with refreshments. On my taking leave he ordered me to be furnished with an escort to General Baron Bulow. I arrived at this general's quarters at break of day, and was soon after introduced to him. While I was at breakfast with him, he told me that he wished me to see Prince Blucher on my way to the Duke of Wellington ; and added that he would send his aide-de-camp with me. He

then ordered a servant to call his aid-de-camp, Baron Echardstein, to whom I was also particularly known.*

On our arrival at Prince Blucher's, my companion, Baron Echardstein, informed him that I was going on a mission from the French government to the Duke of Wellington: this did not seem to please the Prince, who immediately retired to rest, and left me to converse with his chef d'état major. This gentleman, whose name I believe was Gneisenau, was very indignant on being informed of the desire of the French to treat with the Duke of Wellington, and he completely lost his temper, when he observed the coolness with which I listened to his indiscreet and authoritative language. He desired to know the nature of my mission to the Duke, I remained silent. He then exclaimed with the greatest violence and agitation: "What, nobody but the Duke of Wellington? always the Duke of Wellington? Have they forgot that there is a Prince Blucher? That there is a Prussian army? They shall feel that there is a Prussian army! They have felt it! They shall again smart under it, &c." "But how comes it," added he with the

* During a stay of seven months, which I made at Rome in 1812, I formed a close intimacy and friendship with two Prussian noblemen, Baron Rochow of Potsdam, and Baron Echardstein. We lived together, and joined in all our pursuits and recreations. The former had been adjutant to the famous Schill, and was one of the few who cut their way through the French and Danish troops at Stralsund, where Schill perished.

greatest violence, "how comes it, that you, who
"say you are an Englishman, should dare to remain
"in Paris, after the return of Buonaparte?" I told
him, "that like numbers of my countrymen, I had
"to consult only my own pleasure in that particu-
"lar." On this he exclaimed, "I am very much
"surprised, Sir, at what you say: were I the Duke of
"Wellington, I would make an example of you all!"

On my quitting this choleric soldier, my friend Echardstein thought it necessary to apologise to me for the indelicate behaviour of his countryman. I proceeded on my journey, and soon met numerous columns of English cavalry, and found the five French deputies waiting for the duke's arrival, at a village called Fresnoy. I thought it expedient to endeavour to see the duke before the deputies, and therefore passed them on the road. I shortly after met the duke, and imparted to him the purport of my mission, and delivered to him also a sealed dispatch from Fouché, upon which he desired me to accompany him to the village where the deputies were. He asked me if I was acquainted with the nature of the mission. I told him I knew that one part of it, at least, was to request an armistice of some days, until news could arrive from other deputies, who had been sent to treat with the united sovereigns.

On the duke's arrival at the village of Fresnoy, he conferred with the deputies for five hours. They adduced in support of their mission, the solemn declaration of the British ministers, "that it was not

“ the intention of the allies to force the Bourbons,
“ or any other government on the French people ;
“ that they had made war against Napoleon only,
“ and not against the nation, &c.” Their mission failed. They received for answer, that the only thing left for the chambers to do, was to proclaim Louis 18th.

The duke then proceeded to Plessis, the headquarters for that day. The deputies remained behind. I was desired by the duke to accompany him to Plessis, where I dined with him, and during dinner conversed with him on the object I had to propose, respecting an armistice. Before I took my leave of the duke, I requested that he would give me some answer to the remonstrances of the commission of government, which stated, “ *that as the allies had declared their hostility to be directed against the person of Napoleon only, it would be but just to await the result of the mission to the sovereigns, before his grace undertook to replace Louis 18th on the throne.*” The duke, in the presence of Lord March, Colonels Hervey, Freemantle, Abercromby, and several other officers, replied : “ I can give no other answer, than that which you know *I have just given* to the deputies. “ *Tell them (the commission of government) that they had better immediately proclaim the King (Louis 18th.) I cannot treat till then, nor upon any other condition. Their king is here at hand ; let them send their submission to him.*”

The duke was at this time in constant communication with King Louis and Talleyrand, who were together in the rear of the army, and I saw one of the messengers of Louis XVIII. at the duke's headquarters.—I returned to Paris the next morning, Davoust had taken the chief command of the French army, and had fixed his head-quarters at the Barriere de la Villette, by which I entered Paris. On my being introduced to him, he demanded to know the object of my mission to the enemy, and said, that as he then held the supreme command, I must communicate to him any dispatches of which I might be the bearer. I answered him, that I had no written message; that my mission had been nearly similar to that of the deputies; that I had been sent out by the commission, and therefore thought it my duty to account with its members only for my proceedings. I could, however, inform him of the declaration, which in common with the deputies, I had received from the Duke of Wellington. Hereupon I reported to him the duke's *sine qua non*. He immediately declared that my intelligence was incredible, and expressed his disbelief of it in the strongest terms. Then with the greatest emotion, and with uplifted hands and eyes, *he called heaven to witness the perfidy and arrogant injustice of the English ministry, and of the allies.* “The Duke of Wellington,” said he, “surely could never dare to make a declaration so directly contrary to the avowed, and solemnly protested intentions of the

*“ British ministry, and of the other allies. Have
“ not they sworn that they would not impose a
“ sovereign on the French people? However, they
“ will find to their cost, that we are unanimous in
“ our resolution. Napoleon can no longer be the
“ pretext for their hostilities. We will all perish
“ rather than submit to the hateful yoke that Lord
“ Castlereagh would impose upon us! ——— is
“ a traitor! he was about to compromise with the
“ enemy—I have taken his command from him—
“ He shall never again command a corporal’s
“ guard—We are an independent nation—England
“ should be the last power to tyrannise over us in
“ our choice of government.”* He then desired me to proceed to lay before the commission at the Thuilleries, the result of my mission, adding, “ they know very well that I have now with me more than 100,000 men, with 500 pieces of cannon, and 25,000 cavalry.”

I proceeded to the palace of the Thuilleries, where I was introduced to the commission. Carnot immediately asked what my errand to the enemy had been. Fouché quickly answered, that he had sent me. Quinette and Grenier looked as if they were not satisfied with this answer. Carnot continued to address me, and asked whether I had seen the deputies at the Duke of Wellington’s head-quarters? I answered in the affirmative, and that I could give him an account of the result of their mission: upon this they became attentive, and heard my account

with dismay and indignation. Carnot expressed the same sentiments that Davoust had recently done, and added, rather roughly, that he could by no means give credit to my account, either as to the Duke of Wellington's *sine qua non*, or as to the force of the enemy in the vicinity of Paris ; he further said, with a sneer, " we shall have, I hope, a
" very different account on the return of the de-
" puties." Fouché defended me, and reproved him for so uncivilly questioning my veracity, and assured him that he might put implicit confidence in me. Carnot and Grenier then took me to a topographical map, and questioned me as to the movements of the Duke of Wellington. I answered their interrogatories to the extent to which I thought myself warranted, and it appeared, that I informed them of nothing with which they were not already acquainted. Carnot then, in a polite manner, told me I might retire.

It would appear that in consequence of having learned from me the nature of the communication which the deputies would have to make to the chambers, and dreading its discouraging effects on the members, and on the people at large, their return to Paris had been prevented. Some private orders seem to have been given to that effect, for on the same day that I entered Paris by the Barriere de la Villette, the deputies approached that post, preceded by Colonel Latour Maubourg, who was attached to their mission, when the French out-posts

fired, killed the Prussian trumpeter's horse, and a ball grazed the epaulette of the colonel. The deputies turned back, and attempted to enter by the Barriere de St. Dennis, but were refused. They there received fresh instructions to treat, and it was so managed that they did not return to Paris till after the capitulation.

In the mean time Fouché and his coadjutors, who opposed the views of the other parties, were in great personal danger. The three other members of the commission, more than suspected them of duplicity and treachery ; and in consequence impeached them before the Chamber of Deputies. The Duke of Wellington being acquainted with these proceedings, sent a message to the members of the commission, as I was informed, assuring them that if any harm befell Fouché or Caulincourt, he would infallibly *hang up the other three on his arrival in Paris.*

It was proposed in the Chamber of Deputies, that its members should quit Paris with the army, and rally round them all those who would oppose the enemy and the Bourbons. But this measure Fouché was particularly anxious to thwart, whilst Davoust, feeling himself confident in the strength of his army, insisted on attacking Blucher and the Duke of Wellington before other reinforcements should arrive ; but as I understood at the time, Fouché succeeded in somewhat softening and in giving a new direction to the policy of Carnot ; and it is certain that he managed to gain over Davoust by

urging the force of the enemy, and the dreadful consequences that would ensue if Paris should be taken by assault. He pleaded the reliance which might be placed *on the faith of the English* (for with the Prussians the French would not have treated on any terms). He therefore recommended Davoust to evacuate Paris, and not to listen to the desperate suggestions of the chambers, observing, that so long as his army remained entire, he might obtain favorable terms for all parties.

The day before the capitulation of Paris, (2d July) I repaired to the British camp with the following memorandum, as my instructions from Fouché to the Duke of Wellington.

“ The army opposes, because uneasy—assure it, it will even become devoted.

“ The chambers are counter for the same reason.

“ *Assure every body you will have every body.*

“ The army sent away, the chambers will agree, on according them the guarantee as added to the charter and promised by the king. In order to be well understood, it is necessary to explain; therefore not to enter Paris before three days, and in the mean time every thing may be arranged.

“ The chambers will be gained, will believe in their independence, and will agree to every thing. Persuasion, not force, must be used with the chambers.”*

* This is a *literal* translation, which will account for any inaccuracy which may strike the English reader.

On my arrival at the British advanced posts, which, owing to the obstructions I met with from the French, I was not able to effect till early in the morning of the 3d of July, I was informed that the most positive orders had been given by the duke, not to allow any messenger to pass from Paris without his special permission. I was therefore detained at the English advanced post of guards, commanded by Lord Saltown. I dined with the officers of the advanced piquet, among whom, I well remember Captain Fairfield, of the foot guards. These gentlemen informed me, that the Duke of Wellington was at Gonesse, with Sir C. Stuart, Pozzi di Borgo, and Talleyrand. I wrote a letter to the duke, which was forwarded by Lord Saltown. In my letter, I entered into a detail of the line of conduct recommended by Fouché, and contained in the foregoing memorandum. On the receipt of my dispatch, the duke immediately proceeded to St. Cloud, General Blucher's head-quarters; there the capitulation of Paris was signed. The duke returned to Gonesse, and dispatched Lord March to bring me to him; I arrived there very early on the morning of the 4th, and found Sir Charles Stuart, *Talleyrand*, and Pozzo di Borgo; they assembled in council, and my presence was required by the duke. *Talleyrand* then desired me to repeat my message, and when I got to the article respecting the removal of the French army from Paris, and quieting all fears, *Talleyrand* observed to me, that

this was already settled, and turning to the Duke of Wellington, requested him to read to me *the capitulation that they had just concluded*. On my urging the adoption of the line of conduct which Fouché recommended towards the Chambers, the Duke of Wellington proceeded to give me his sentiments in writing, which were as follow :

“ Je pense, que les alliés ayant déclaré le gouvernement de Napoleon une usurpation et non legitime, toute autorité qui émané de lui, doit être regardée comme nulle et d’aucun pouvoir. Ainsi ce qui reste à faire aux Chambres et à la commission, est, de donner de suite leur démission et de déclarer, qu’ils n’ont pris sur eux les responsabilités du gouvernement, que pour assurer la tranquillité publique, et l’intégrité du royaume de S. M. Louis XVIII.*”

Talleyrand, Sir Charles Stuart, and Pozzo di Borgo, each took a copy of this document, and each by way of memorandum, put their names and mine

* “ I am of opinion that the allies having declared the government of Napoleon an usurpation and not legitimate, all authority which emanates from it, ought to be considered as null and of no effect: therefore all that remains for the chambers and the commission to do, is immediately to give in their resignation, and to declare that they took upon themselves the responsibility of government, with the sole view of insuring the public tranquillity, and the integrity of the kingdom of H. M. Louis XVIII.”

to the paper, by way of recording, as I suppose, the parties present at the discussion.

Talleyrand moreover dictated to me the following memorandum :

“ Le Roi accordera toute l’ancienne charte, y compris l’abolition de la confiscation ; de plus, *le non renouvellement de la loi de l’année dernière sur la liberté de la presse*—l’appelle immédiate des colleges électoraux pour la formation d’une nouvelle chambre—l’unité du ministère—l’initiative réciproque des lois, par message du côté du roi, et par proposition de la part des chambres—l’hérédité de la Chambre des Pairs.” Talleyrand added, “ *vous pouvez DE NOTRE PART leur recommander la bonne foi, et la CONFIANCE LA PLUS ILLIMITÉE** :” and further desired me to procure information concerning the Buonaparte family. He then pointed out, and as it were, introduced to me, the persons of the plenipotentiaries present, saying, “ that is Sir Charles Stuart, H. B. Majesty’s ambassador ; that

* The King will grant all the former *charter*, including the abolition of confiscations ; besides *the non-renewal of the law of last year concerning the liberty of the press* ; the immediate assembly of the electoral colleges for the formation of a new Chamber of Deputies ; the unity of the ministry—reciprocity in the faculty of proposing laws, on the part of the king by message, and by proposition on that of the chambers. The Chamber of Peers is hereditary. Talleyrand added, you may in our names, recommend to them, sincerity, and *the most unlimited confidence*.

“ is Count Pozzo di Borgo, ambassador of H.
 “ I. M. the Emperor of Russia, and *I am Prince*
 “ *Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs for His*
 “ *Majesty Louis XVIII.*” The Duke of Wellington had already mentioned their names to me on our first sitting down. His grace now desired me to write all their names under the memorandum which had been dictated to me by Talleyrand, and he further desired me to add to my memorandum—

“ That I might be sent back to him immediately
 “ with further instructions and information. I was
 “ to desire Fouché to be very explicit and sincere,
 “ particularly with him, the Duke of Wellington,
 “ who on his part, put the most implicit confidence
 “ in him (Fouché). The duke wished to know
 “ whether Fouché desired support or assistance of
 “ any kind, or in any manner, if he did he should
 “ immediately have it.”

I forthwith mounted my horse and returned to Paris ; Lord March was appointed by the duke to accompany me. On our arrival at the Barriere de la Villette, we found the French soldiery perfectly frantic, and vociferating “ Vive l’Empereur !” “ A bas les Anglais !” “ A bas les Burbons !” They were on the point of firing at the Belgian trumpeter who preceded us ; it was with the greatest difficulty that some French hussars, under whose escort we had approached the barriers, could prevent the soldiers from firing at Lord March as he was riding off. They were also obliged to exert themselves strenu-

ously in my defence, as many of the infantry pointed their muskets at me, vociferating Vive L'Empereur ! Vive Napoleon ! We are betrayed ! We have been sold ! We will fight to the last drop of our blood ! Down with the Bourbons ! Let us kill this traitor ! He has assisted in selling us ! We have seen him pass before ! The hussars took me between them, some of the infantry also assisted in parrying off the blows aimed at me, and turning aside the muzzles of the muskets. Thus after great peril, I was fortunate enough to gain the quarters of a general officer, with only a sabre cut on my left leg. The general dispersed the men, and gave me a strong escort to conduct me to the Thuilleries.

In consequence of my communicating the documents and assurances I had received from Talleyrand and the Duke of Wellington, the commission of government abdicated its powers that evening ; but the Chambers still refused to comply. They continued their sittings, which they declared should be permanent, till the morning of the 6th, when the doors of the Chamber were closed, and guarded by a party of the national guards.

On this above one hundred and fifty of the deputies proceeded to the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, and there framed a solemn protest against the arbitrary and illegal violence which had been used toward them, *in violation of the most solemn declarations.*

I have now no doubt that some extraordinary

scheme had been contrived to seduce Napoleon into the measure of abdicating the throne in favour of his son. His resources were at that moment immense. The regular army in Paris alone, amounted to more than 80,000 men, every individual of which was animated with the most enthusiastic ardour. The national guard, above 30,000 strong, displayed the firmest resolution to obey the directions of the constituted authorities ; numerous volunteers of all classes had taken up arms in the defence of their country. In the departments, the spirit of opposition to the invaders was still greater, particularly in the north, west, and east : in fine, Napoleon, who could not possibly be ignorant of the state of his resources, would never, I am convinced, have sheathed his sword, and abdicated the crown *even in favour of his son*, had he not been most confidently assured of the validity of the measure, by its being approved and supported by the French senate and people, and by, at least, *some part* of the coalition.

What were the precise representations by which Napoleon was influenced to take this step, is perhaps known only to its contrivers, and their victim. Some future historian may probably unfold this mystery. As far as regards the share I had in the negociations between the provisional government, the allied armies and Talleyrand, as minister of Louis XVIII., I feel it due to myself to declare that *I had no suspicion of any deception or intended breach of engagements.* I was requested to open a

communication between Fouché and the Duke of Wellington, for the avowed purpose of negotiating an armistice, as a preliminary measure to the capitulation of Paris ; and it was obvious that such a negotiation might save the lives of thousands and thousands of my countrymen.

On my first interview with the Duke of Wellington, I informed him that I had been King Joachim's aide-de-camp, and I then solicited the favour of his interest to obtain permission for the king to retire to England. The duke promised me his support, but added, that he wished King Joachim himself to write to him. I communicated this wish to the king, who, in consequence, sent me a letter addressed to the duke ; it was written with much feeling and dignity, but it contained a phrase which M. De Coussy thought somewhat exceptionable. I differed from him in this opinion, but submitted to his judgment, and the letter was not presented to the duke. This seems, however, to have been of no importance, as it did not appear that after the duke's arrival at Paris he ever recollected the desire he had expressed. About the 12th of July, I addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh, through the medium of Sir Charles Stuart, in which in the name of King Joachim I requested an asylum for him in Great Britain. I received for answer, that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent must be consulted before His Majesty's ministers could assent to

my request. A short time after I received an official note signed by Sir Charles Stuart, informing me that he was directed by Lord Castlereagh to inform me, that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent did not think fit, “ pour le “ moment et par rapport aux circonstances du “ jour,”* to grant Marshal Murat’s request.

I immediately wrote to King Joachim, through the medium of M. De Coussy, informing him of this refusal, and I sent him a copy of my correspondence with Lord Castlereagh. I availed myself of the same opportunity to enclose him the protest of a bill which I had drawn on Naples, in reimbursement of certain sums I had advanced in London in the purchase of several articles for the Queen of Naples. My letter was intercepted, and I was thrown into prison, and detained there a fortnight for no other crime than that of an avowed and harmless interference in behalf of my unfortunate benefactor, which in the eyes of M. De Cazes, then prefect of the police of Paris, was sufficient to warrant him in depriving me of my liberty. Immediately on my arrest I addressed a letter to Fouché, who was then minister of the police, who in reply, informed me through his secretary, that he would use no time in procuring my release.

Notwithstanding the reiterated reclamations of

* For the moment, and with reference to existing circumstances.

Sir Charles Stuart, and the positive orders of the minister of police for my being set at liberty,† the prefect contrived still to keep me in confinement, by multiplying as much as possible his inquisitorial interrogatories, in which the agents of the French police, according to their general custom, criticise and discuss the propriety of every action of the prisoner's life from the remotest period. On my release the minister Fouché begged me to forget the ungrateful and unkind usage I had sustained, casting all the blame of it on De Cazes, the prefect of police, and Mr. Justus Gr  nner, who was at the head of the Prussian police.

Shortly after my release, the Marquis Guiliano, aide-de-camp to King Joachim, arrived at Paris from Toulon, and informed me that the king wished to quit the south of France, which had become the theatre of terror and bloodshed ; that he was desirous of avoiding the journey by land, in which he might have shared the fate of Marshal Brun, who just before had been massacred at Avignon ; and that he had therefore resolved to repair incognito to Havre de Grace, and there to claim the protection of England and of the allies ; that for this purpose he had freighted a vessel at Toulon ; that the Duke of Roccaromana, and Colonel Bonafoux, together with all King Joachim's baggage and at-

† Prince William of Prussia was so good as to send his first aide-de-camp to the minister, and to the prefect of police, to remonstrate on my behalf.

tendants, had already embarked when the Marquis Guiliano left Toulon, and that the king was to have gone on board that evening for the purpose of proceeding on his voyage. In consequence of this information, and knowing that the fortress of Gaeta had not yet surrendered to the Austrians, I waited on the Duke of Wellington, and reminded him of his promise to intercede for King Joachim. I told him that I knew where the king was, and that if either England or Austria would grant him an asylum, I would pledge myself that he would immediately send orders to the governor of Gaeta to surrender, and that perhaps he might be induced even to abdicate his pretensions to the throne of Naples. The Duke of Wellington engaged to negotiate for me on these terms with Prince Metternich and Lord Castlereagh, and in a conversation I had a few days after with the duke on the subject, he observed that I had no longer any ground for negotiation, news having arrived that Gaeta was in possession of the Austrians. I still, however, urged him to interest himself in behalf of the king. He promised he would, and shortly afterwards informed me that the measure had been agreed upon *in the council of ministers, (at which Talleyrand attended,)* and that Prince Metternich wished to see me on the subject. I waited on the prince, and he presented me with the following document, by which I was empowered to propose an asylum to King Joachim in the name of the Emperor of Austria.

“ Mr. Macirone is authorised by these presents to

“ inform King Joachim, that his Majesty the Emperor
 “ of Austria will grant him an asylum in his states on
 “ the following conditions :

“ 1. The King will take the name of a private
 “ person: the Queen having adopted that of Countess
 “ of Lipona, the same is also proposed to the King.

“ 2. The King shall be free to chuse for his resi-
 “ dence, a town either in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper
 “ Austria : and should he be desirous of fixing him-
 “ self in a country residence in any of these provinces,
 “ his wishes will not meet with opposition.

“ 3. The King will engage his word to his Impe-
 “ rial and Royal Majesty, that he will not quit the
 “ Austrian states, without the express consent of his
 “ said Imperial Majesty ; and that he will live in the
 “ style of a private individual of distinction, but sub-
 “ ject, however, to the laws in force in the above states.

“ In virtue of which, and that it may have the
 “ proper effect, the undersigned has been commanded
 “ by the Emperor, to sign the present declaration.

“ Given at Paris, this 1st of September, 1815.*

(Signed) “ THE PRINCE METTERNICH.”

I was on the point of setting out for Havre de
 Grace to await the King's landing, when Fouché
 received a letter from him, dated “ Du fond de ma
 “ tenebreuse retraite, 22d Aout.”†

Indeed this letter evidently bore the appearance

* For the French original, see Appendix (E.)

† “ From the bottom of my dark abode,” 22d of August.

having been written in the dark, it was scarcely legible. He began by informing Fouché that the ship in which he had intended to sail to Havre, had by some accident been obliged to depart without him, carrying away his attendants, his money, and his clothes, and that he was left on shore at Toulon without even a change of linen. He complained of not having received any answer to his former letters, in which he had constantly solicited the decision of the allies, as to his future destination, and he inveighed bitterly against the conduct of Talleyrand towards him. He lamented the fate of M. De Coussy and of myself, whom he supposed to be still in prison, having heard of my first arrest. He acquainted Fouché with all the persecutions and dangers he had experienced since the sailing of his vessel, and that to avoid certain destruction from the poignards of the numerous assassins who were day and night in pursuit of him, he was under the necessity of taking refuge in Corsica, for which place he was then on the point of embarking in a little open boat. He entreated Fouché to exert his utmost influence with the allies to induce them to dispatch without loss of time, some person empowered to receive his submission to their decision respecting him, which he said he would quietly await in Corsica.

On the reception of this letter, I was immediately furnished by the minister of police with a special passport as envoy of the allied powers to Corsica. I consulted Sir Charles Stuart as well as the Duke

of Wellington as to the safety and propriety of my mission. Sir Charles told me that the passport with which I was furnished, was perfectly adequate to my purpose, that he would of course endorse it, but that as my journey would not be extended beyond the French territory a particular passport from him was useless. The Duke of Wellington expressed himself to the same effect, observing only, that if there had been any English troops in Corsica, or in the south of France, his signature would be of use to me ; but as the case stood he thought it would be superfluous.

Having learnt from King Joachim's letter to Fouché, that he was left without necessities or attendants, I thought it my duty to provide him if possible with both, that his journey from Corsica to Austria might be rendered as comfortable as possible. I discovered that two of his former valets de chambre, whose wives still remained in the service of the queen, were at Paris. They were engaged to repair to the king, and I consulted with *the French minister of police* as to the best means of enabling these men to reach the king, and it was determined they should go with me as my servants. The French minister thought this precaution necessary to ensure their safety, as every post brought some disgusting account of excesses and assassinations committed in the south of France.

Previous to my leaving Paris, I was further provided by Prince Metternich with a letter to Count

Stahremberg, commander in chief of the Austrian army in the south of France, in which the count was apprized of the dispositions of the Emperor of Austria with regard to King Joachim, and the nature of my mission to Corsica, at the same time he was ordered to provide an Austrian field officer to escort King Joachim on his journey, if it should be required.

It occurred to me that in all probability the king would adopt the plan of proceeding by sea to Trieste; I therefore requested Prince Metternich to provide me with a passport for him under the name of Count Lipona, proceeding to Trieste with a suite of six persons; the prince immediately complied with this request.

This passport was signed by himself, Sir Charles Stuart, and Prince Schwartzemberg, and the Austrian great seal of office was affixed to it; Prince Metternich likewise took the precaution of writing officially to the governor of Trieste, apprizing him of the probable speedy arrival of King Joachim in that port.

Having now made every necessary preparation for my departure, and having neglected no precaution to ensure the success of my endeavours to serve my patron and benefactor, I began already to anticipate the delight and consolation of having rescued him from the unhappy situation in which he was placed, and of restoring him to his afflicted consort and unprotected children.

I left Paris on the 10th of September, taking with me the two valets de chambre, as well as the linen and clothes which had been provided for the use of King Joachim. I travelled day and night without intermission till the evening of the 14th. When I arrived at Toulon, I there learnt, that as soon as the news of the restoration of the King of France was made known at Toulon, King Joachim, who resided in the most private manner in a small country house in the neighbourhood, addressed a letter to the magistrates of the department, assuring them that he would be the last person to disturb the public tranquillity, either by word or action, that he only requested the favor of being permitted to remain unmolested where he then was, until the decision of the allies with regard to his person should be known. At the same time he enclosed them a letter addressed to the King of France, in which he invoked the generosity and magnanimity of a successful enemy. He addressed another letter to Fouché, wherein he desired him to obtain for him some guarantee from the allies, and to send a person with proper authority to receive his submission. This he desired Fouché to do, and added, "provided
" you may be allowed to serve me in my mis-
" fortunes without your humanity being construed
" into treason against your new lord and master."

The magistrates of Toulon had no cause to doubt the sincerity of King Joachim's professions; particularly as some time in May, 1815, previous to

the battle of Waterloo, he had given the most unequivocal proofs of his pacific intentions, and at a time when the inhabitants of Marseilles, about the period of Lord Exmouth's arrival, hoisted the white flag, massacred the old invalid Mamalukes, and attacked the garrison under General Bonnet.—The numerous garrison of Toulon, together with all the neighbouring troops, most earnestly solicited and even attempted to compel King Joachim to put himself at their head for the purpose of marching against Marseilles. — He peremptorily refused to comply, alleging that he was “ a mere fugitive, “ who only demanded the rites of hospitality—a “ stranger to the political occurrences of the country, “ in which he had no kind of authority to interfere.” This is an incontrovertible fact, the proofs of which are still in existence, the circumstance having given rise to an official report from General Partheneau to the minister of war.

For the honour of humanity and of royalty, let us hope that the letter addressed to King Louis never reached its destination.

In order as much as possible to keep the events in their regular succession, I will now briefly relate in what manner King Joachim was forced to quit the retreat he had chosen, and how he succeeded in making his escape to Corsica.—My readers may implicitly rely on the authenticity of these particulars. I collected them at different times from all the parties concerned. Moreover, the accounts

I received from the various constituted authorities at Toulon, both previously and subsequently to my voyage to Corsica, agree in every respect with the accounts I received while in Corsica from the king himself, who was so good as to repeat to me the whole history of these occurrences.

I have already given a short account of the manner in which, after the dispersion of his army, King Joachim effected his escape from Naples and landed at Cannes in the department of the Var ; I have also mentioned the circumstance of his having been refused by Napoleon the liberty of proceeding to Paris ; for which reason he determined to await at Toulon the result of the application which he wished me to make in his behalf to the British government, for permission to take refuge in England. His pecuniary resources were inconsiderable ; I do not remember what quantity of gold he had with him on quitting Naples, I believe about four thousand Napoleons. He had, however, two epaulets and a hat-loop set with diamonds, which in the hurry of his departure from his palace, were the only things of value he could conveniently take—these articles might together be worth about ten thousand pounds sterling. The gold he divided with the Duke of Roccaromana and the other persons who were following his fortunes.

Soon after the restoration of Louis to the throne of France, the situation of King Joachim began to be extremely critical. It is true no orders were ever

publicly issued against him ; but the assassins of Marshal Brun, and of the Protestants at Nismes, either from the dictates of their own *loyalty*, or in consequence of secret instructions, immediately set about their murderous machinations, and left no artifice untried to get King Joachim into their power. He soon found it necessary to quit the house which he had so quietly occupied for more than six weeks. He separated from his attendants, and retired to a secret retreat, whilst they were instructed to report that he had succeeded in embarking on board a vessel he had hired, and had taken refuge in Tunis. His persecutors were by no means the dupes of this stratagem : they redoubled their activity and vigilance, but hitherto, their malice had been happily counteracted by the humane exertions of his generous and noble-minded preservers.

In this state of things, the Marquis de Riviere had recourse to artifice. He wrote a letter to King Joachim, which he commissioned M. Joliclerc, special commissary of police at Toulon, to deliver. In this letter he invited King Joachim, in the mildest terms, to surrender himself, urging in favour of the act the humanity and good faith of His Majesty the King of France, as well as of Lord Exmouth, who, as King Joachim informed me, joined the Marquis in that summons.

From the well established and unsullied character of M. Joliclerc, for integrity and honour, he had not much difficulty in inducing the persons who he

suspected of being privy to King Joachim's concealment, to procure him an interview. As might naturally be expected, King Joachim declined confiding his person to the care of the Marquis de Riviere and Lord Exmouth, since they had no guarantee to offer him, no visible authority or instructions from the allied powers. What were they to do with him? How were they to dispose of him? Lord Exmouth could not so soon have forgotten that a very short time previous to this proposal he had refused King Joachim's request to be permitted to take refuge on board his lordship's fleet, which was then cruising off that coast. Lord Exmouth then refused to receive him on any other terms than as a prisoner, to be sent to England. King Joachim, on the other hand, requested that he might be received *conditionally*, to be disposed of according to the future decision of the allied powers, if on his arrival in England, he should be refused an asylum there on terms of which he should approve. How then happened it, that Lord Exmouth, who had refused this application, should now join the Marquis de Riviere in these overtures for the king's surrender? Perhaps he had received instructions and authority from the allies? Then why were they not produced? It was the decision of the allies, that King Joachim wished most ardently to receive, and for that purpose he had repeatedly written to Paris. The Marquis de Riviere now desired M. Joliclerc to seize the person of King Joachim, alleging that he

could no longer avail himself of the plea of being ignorant of his retreat. But the request, though made in the most peremptory and authoritative tone, had no effect upon the conduct of this upright man. He had discovered the place of the king's concealment, on the faith of being commissioned to treat with him, and he refused to become an instrument of treachery. He preserved his honour, *but lost his place*.

At this critical period King Joachim thought it highly necessary to attempt to quit a land of persecution and bigotry, although the step might be attended with the greatest personal danger. His desire was to proceed to Paris incognito, and there to throw himself on the protection of the allies, but the journey by land seemed fraught with danger. The fanatic demagogues *à bonnet blanc* of the Bouches du Rhone, were "roving about like roaring lions, "seeking whom they might devour." Marshal Brun had been recognised and murdered at Avignon, and it was very possible that King Joachim might share the same fate. These considerations made him determine to go by sea to Havre-de-Grace, notwithstanding the length of the voyage. The Duke of Roccaromana hired a vessel for that purpose, the day was fixed for their departure, and on the 2d of August, the duke and Colonel Bonafaux embarked with two servants and all the king's property and clothes.*

* The Marquis Guiliano, aid-de-camp to the king, proceeded

It was agreed that when they were on board, and the vessel was ready to sail, they should send a boat to a remote part of the Bay of Toulon, where King Joachim would be in readiness to embark. At this very important crisis some unhappy mistake occasioned the boat to repair to a wrong place. After a fruitless search and much delay, the person charged with the direction of the enterprize, returned to the vessel, in the utmost consternation at not finding the king, to obtain fresh instructions, as well as the assistance of some one who might be better acquainted with the coast.—A considerable loss of time ensued; and while they were still in suspense and undecided how to act, or where to renew their search, to their utter dismay, a numerous party of the king's pursuers, who by some means or other, had heard of or suspected his intended flight, rushed on board. They searched the vessel with the greatest anxiety, threatening with horrid imprecations, that if they found the king, they would cut him in pieces. Not succeeding in their hopes of finding him, they compelled the captain to put to sea immediately; and they did not quit the vessel until she was under full sail.

I will leave it to the feelings of my readers to conceive what must have been the heart-rending anguish of the two friends who were thus forced to abandon to his cruel fate their much beloved sovereign. I saw the king by land to Paris, to apprize me of his coming. I saw the marquis in Paris on the 9th August.

reign ; doubt and uncertainty contributed to render their situation still more distressing. It was only at the termination of a long and melancholy voyage that they could know whether they were to lament him as numbered with the dead, or living miserably as an unhappy captive.

As soon as it was dark, the king repaired to the spot where he was to have found the boat.—He remained there in the greatest anxiety until near day-light, occasionally ascending the cliffs in the hope of discerning the movements of his deliverers. When it was sufficiently light, he saw his ship, not indeed far off, but under sail, and without any means of communication.—In this desperate situation, neither his courage nor his presence of mind forsook him. He was gifted by nature with the most undaunted intrepidity--self-possession in the hour of danger, and a cheerfulness of soul, if I may so term it, which was never depressed by misfortune, and by which he was led instantly to apply his mind to the most prompt means of surmounting his difficulties.—Never, even in his most trying circumstances, was his countenance divested of that placid smile which was one of its remarkable features.

His friends in the vessel had purposely remained as long as possible in the vicinity of the shore, in the anxious hope that he would perhaps be able on perceiving them to throw himself into some little fishing-boat and still be rescued ; but every minute increased the distance between their wishes and the possibility of accomplishing them. Still the ship

lingered in the offing, but scarcely had the king found a boat, and put off from the shore, when a gale arose, and the cruel moment arrived at which the vessel was obliged to stretch out to sea, and separate his friends from him for ever.

Fortunately for King Joachim, it occurred to him that it might be imprudent to return to the place of refuge which he had just quitted: had it been otherwise he would inevitably have perished, for at that moment the bloodhounds who pursued him were in the act of visiting the very spot.

He bent his steps whither chance directed him; carefully avoiding the vicinity of the forts or of any large dwelling, lest the first house he approached might prove to be the habitation of an enemy.—He wandered about the woods and vineyards for several days and nights with scarcely any sustenance and without shelter.—At length compelled by weariness and hunger, he determined to enter a farm house, where he flattered himself he might not be known.

He found only an old woman in the house, and informed her that he was an officer belonging to the garrison of Toulon, that he had been taking a long walk across the country; that he had lost his way, and had had no dinner, he, therefore, begged her to prepare him something to eat. The good old woman in the most courteous manner and with the greatest cheerfulness assured him, that he was a welcome guest, and that he might depend upon being instantly provided with the best fare her dear master's house would furnish.—This mention of

her "dear master," not a little alarmed the king, who immediately enquired his name, and if she expected him soon home? She satisfied his curiosity, adding, that he was only gone out for a walk. The good woman during this conversation, employed herself in preparing an omelet, and before she had finished either her cooking or her story, her master returned.

The king disguised the uneasiness he felt in this gentleman's company, who, however, very civilly bade him welcome, and seated himself at the table prepared for the king, at the same time desiring the old woman to make ready another omelet for himself. The king, who, as may well be supposed, was extremely hungry, had begun his meal previous to the declaration of his host, that he would join him.

No one who ever beheld the stately figure and affable countenance of King Joachim, could forget him. This was the case with our host, who though he had never seen him, had yet seen his portrait in the Marshals' Saloon at the Thuilleries, as well as his own coins of the grand duchy of Berg, and the kingdom of Naples. This gentleman had also heard of his being then in the vicinity, as well as of the persecution to which he had been subjected. He soon recognised in his guest the person of the king, and starting from his seat with every mark of the most profound respect, with tears in his eyes, begged the king to pardon the familiarity into which he

had been betrayed, assuring him that he would readily risk his life to preserve him, and that his house, his fortune, and his person, were all at the king's disposal. At this moment the old nurse, who was assiduously engaged at the fire, hearing her master's respectful and passionate address, from which she learnt the rank of the personage, for whom she had been exercising her culinary skill, was seized with an universal tremor ; and in throwing herself at the king's feet, overturned the frying pan and its contents into the fire.

The king remained concealed in the house of this worthy gentleman for several days, when some circumstance made it necessary that he should be removed. Another country house was provided, which was then unoccupied, and a naval officer, whose name I shall not mention, was intrusted with the secret. An old woman, whose fidelity could be depended upon, was left in the house to wait upon the king, while the naval officer and an associate, named ———, were employed in occasionally attending upon his person, in bringing him necessaries and refreshments from the neighbouring town, and in guarding against any circumstance which might menace the king's safety.

In the mean time King Joachim's enemies by no means relaxed in their exertions to take him. The report of his having gold and jewels to an immense amount about his person, not a little contributed to increase their activity. The good old woman who

was employed to wait on the king, was indefatigable in her attention. She constantly kept watch during the night, while the king reposed, and would never retire to rest but in the middle of the day, when there was no danger of surprise, and his companions generally slept in the town to avoid observation.

It would appear, however, that something had led to a suspicion of the king's retreat ; for at midnight on the 13th of August, a party of sixty men, headed by one Mocau, son of the general of that name, repaired to the villa in which the king was concealed. The house being placed upon an eminence, it would have been difficult to approach it in the day without discovery ; but aided as this party was, by the darkness of the night, they made quite sure of taking their victim by surprise, and this must inevitably have happened, if these imprudent assassins had not provided themselves with a lantern. The old dame, who was most fortunately watching at a window that looked towards the path which these ruffians were ascending, was alarmed at the appearance of the light, and immediately awoke the king, who was sleeping in his clothes with his arms beside him, and apprised him of his danger. He instantly covered himself with his great coat, seized his poignard and two pair of holster pistols, slipped out at a back door, and concealed himself under the thick foliage of the vines, at about thirty yards distance from the house. The old

woman fastened the door after him, whilst the gang surrounded the house. She had the presence of mind to make some delay in opening the door, under the pretence of requiring time to dress herself. In a few moments she disposed of the king's mattress, and set all to rights. This privileged banditti examined every corner of the house, and a party extended their search to the garden and vineyards, in doing which, the king heard several of them pass within a few paces of him, expressing their wish that they might find him, to enjoy the pleasure of cutting him to pieces, and dividing his spoils ; but after an unsuccessful search they left the house. The king afterwards informed me that it was his intention, in case he had been discovered, to kill as many of his assassins as he could, and then rather than suffer himself to be taken alive, to discharge his last pistol at his own head. After what had happened, it was the king's opinion, in which M. ——— joined, that to remain in the house, which had been so strictly searched, was his safest course, and he accordingly adopted it.

The king now began to despair of receiving any answer to the letters he had written to Paris, requesting to be taken under the protection of the allies. He had heard of my imprisonment for having applied to Lord Castlereagh in his behalf, and he therefore had no hope of my being able to make any further exertions in his favour. It was no longer possible for him to remain concealed

where he was ; two distinguished personages at Marseilles having each offered 24,000 francs for his person, that is to say, for his head ; for it was well known and understood that he could not be taken alive. In this desperate situation, whither could he fly ? where be secure from the pursuits of his destroyers ? He had not the means of undertaking a long voyage, or he would have followed the Duke of Roccaromana to Havre. Corsica was the only asylum which he had any chance of reaching. The romantic character of its inhabitants ; that unconquerable spirit of independance, which their habits assist in maintaining ; and the mountainous and inaccessible nature of their island, induced the king to hope that among this people he could not fail to find an hospitable and secure retreat, in which he might await the decision of the allies concerning his future destiny.

It was determined that the king should attempt the passage to Corsica in a little open boat, which Mr. ———, a very meritorious naval officer, from the most disinterested and humane motives, had purchased for the purpose, and who volunteered his services to attend the king on the voyage.

On the 22d August, the king wrote a letter to Fouché, which I have already mentioned, and the same evening embarked in the Bay of Toulon with his three friends. On the 24th they were assailed by a violent storm, and it was with the utmost difficulty, by unremitted exertion in bailing out

the water with their hats, that they were enabled to keep the boat afloat. In the afternoon they saw a small vessel at no great distance steering an opposite course. They approached it in the hope of being taken on board. It proved to be a vessel laden with wine, bound for Toulon. The king hailed the captain, and made him a considerable offer if he would take him to Bastia. Whether the master of this vessel felt alarmed at being thus accosted by four armed men, or whether he was actuated by any other motive is not known. So far, however, from listening to the king's proposals, he actually attempted to run down the boat, in which he would certainly have succeeded, but for the quickness and dexterity of the king and his party. It was with much difficulty that the king could be restrained from boarding the vessel, and taking ample vengeance on this miscreant, who was, however, suffered to continue his voyage.

The day after this occurrence, which had so nearly proved fatal to them, they had the good fortune to fall in with the Corsica packet, which sails regularly from Toulon to Bastia. It would have been impossible for them to keep their boat much longer afloat, which had received great injury from the attempt to run it down, and they had no sooner got on board the packet than their boat sunk.

In the packet they found several persons to whom the king was known ; amongst them were

Generals ——— and ———, and the Duke of ———, who from prudential motives, were quitting the south of France. The king was received by these personages with every mark of respectful attachment. The master and crew were enjoined to feign themselves ignorant of the quality of their passengers. The vessel soon arrived at Bastia in safety. The king remained at this place only one day, and then proceeded with his three kind friends to Viscovato, a village situated in a very strong position fifteen miles south of Bastia. On arriving at the village, he unreservedly entered the most conspicuous house in the place, which happened to be the habitation of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi, the mayor, and a staunch partizan of the Bourbons, in whose cause he had for many years suffered exile from his native land.

This member of the illustrious Colonna family was eminently distinguished for his probity and universal benevolence. The king immediately made himself known to him, acquainted him with the causes of his being forced to take refuge in Corsica, where he assured him he only wished to remain a short time in safety, until he could be informed of the intentions of the allied sovereigns respecting him. In the mean while he threw himself entirely upon the hospitality of his worthy host. Mr. Colonna received the king with every mark of respect, and assured him that the laws of hospitality were held most sacred by every Cor-

sican ; he also observed that there existed no order of government or legal obligation on the French king's subjects to regard King Joachim as an enemy.

The king with his attendants resided for some time in the house of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi. And here he very unexpectedly found one of his aide-de-camps, General Franceschetti, who had recently retired from Naples with his wife, a daughter of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi.

The political situation of the island of Corsica was at this period somewhat extraordinary. The garrisons of Calvi, Bastia, and Ajaccio, did not collectively amount to more than one thousand men. The inhabitants were divided into three factions, the Buonapartist, the English, and the Bourbon. The two former were by far the most numerous, and in a great measure appeared to unite their efforts in opposition to the latter ; each party was in arms and on the alert, with the intention of acting as future circumstances might require. There was also some vestige of a party termed Independants, but their views did not appear to be distinctly defined. The white flag was displayed on the forts as well as on the church steeples in various parts of the island.

At this juncture the imprudent zeal of the commander of Bastia had nearly involved the island in a scene of warfare and bloodshed, which but for the prudence and moderation of

King Joachim would infallibly have occurred. The commander, probably being acquainted with the *meritorious* and *loyal exertions* of the authorities of Marseilles towards accomplishing the destruction of King Joachim, *felt a noble emulation* to participate in their *honours*. With this view he took upon himself to address a peremptory summons to the king, whom he styled Mr. Murat, enjoining him immediately to deliver himself into his custody, that he might be dealt with according to the will and pleasure of His Majesty the King of France.

It will not appear surprising that King Joachim should have refused to comply with the summons of this madman. He, however, condescended to return him an answer, in which he attributed his non-acquiescence to the want of authority and instructions on the part of the commandant, and his total incapacity to afford him any guarantee.

In consequence of this reply the commander of Bastia issued a proclamation, in which he declared King Joachim an enemy to the King of France, and a disturber of the public peace. A body of several hundred men was collected, formed into a battalion, and dispatched towards Viscovato, with orders to seize upon the king's person. This arbitrary mandate of the commander of Bastia, for which he had no authority, immediately brought the defence of the king all the friends and

relations of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi, who without distinction of party rose up in arms and flew from all parts of the island towards Viscovato, *esteeming it a sacred duty to support their kinsman and friend in the defence of his illustrious guest, who had thrown himself upon his hospitality and protection.* To this force, which amounted in a few days to about six hundred men, completely armed, must be added about two hundred veterans, chiefly officers, who had formerly served in the king's armies and were then retired to their homes.

The battalion which had been directed against Viscovato was glad to return to Bastia unmolested, where it immediately dispersed.

The commandant of Bastia was now satisfied with being able to maintain himself on the defensive. Had King Joachim complied with the earnest solicitations of the force by which he was surrounded, he might not only have taken Bastia with the greatest ease, but have possessed himself of the whole island ; all the soldiers in the garrisons, and the majority of the inhabitants, being disposed to join him.

King Joachim, however, by no means encouraged these dispositions ; he persisted in declaring that he looked upon himself as a fugitive who had sought shelter in Corsica to claim the rites of hospitality, that he could by no means countenance any proceedings which might tend to prejudice the in-

terests of His Majesty Louis the 18th, and that he steadily persisted in awaiting the arrival of some duly authorised person from Paris.

After having with the utmost patience resided three weeks on the island, he began to despair of obtaining relief from the state of uncertainty and persecution in which he was placed. He was led by appearances to believe that he had been totally abandoned by the allied powers, to the mean and dastardly assaults of those from whom he had so lately escaped, and who still, he had reason to know, most ardently thirsted for his blood. These were the considerations which first inclined him to yield to the dictates of his heroic and dauntless spirit—driven to extremity his unconquered mind prompted him rather to seek death nobly in the field, and by fighting to recover his crown, than meet his fate at the hands of midnight assassins.

He had always held, that “*a king who could not keep his crown had no alternative but a soldier’s death;*” and he was convinced in his own case, “*that although a prison might be offered him as an asylum, a grave would lie at no great distance.*”

Soon after the failure of the expedition which had been directed against him at Viscovato, he thought it expedient in order to avoid coming to open hostilities with the commander of Bastia, to retire from the former place. He consequently dismissed the troops by whom he was surrounded, with the exception of about four hundred, among

which was a large proportion of officers ;—with these he proceeded to Ajaccio. On his approaching the town, the constituted authorities thought it their duty to retire. The mayor alone remained, from a laudable desire to preserve the public peace.

On the entrance of the king and his little army into the town, not the slightest disturbance or act of violence was committed. The governor of the citadel, whatever might have been his wishes, certainly had it not in his power to offer the least resistance. The king was received by the inhabitants with every mark of respect, and the soldiers composing the garrison of the citadel saluted him from the batteries with repeated cheers.

Several of the best houses were offered to the king, which he refused to occupy, from the fear of compromising the owners, who might probably on his departure suffer persecution on account of their hospitality towards him. He therefore took up his abode at an inn, and purchased five small vessels and a quantity of arms and ammunition. These preparations occupied several days ; and here I must leave him for the present to continue the narrative of my mission from the Emperor of Austria.

I have already stated that I arrived at Toulon on the 15th of September. After having communicated with M. Joliclerc and written to Count Stahremberg, the Austrian commander in chief in that part of France, I sailed on the 20th from Toulon on board a small vessel which I hired for the purpose, and arrived

at Calvi. I enquired where King Joachim was to be found, and learnt that it had been reported he was at Ajaccio. It was suggested to me that the road by land from Calvi to Ajaccio was highly dangerous, owing to the agitated state of the country : I thought it therefore expedient to sail to Bastia, particularly as I wished previously to any proceeding on my mission to communicate with the constituted authorities of that place, from whom I should also obtain correct information concerning King Joachim's retreat. Before quitting Calvi, however, I dispatched a courier with a letter to the king apprising him of my approach.

At Bastia, which I reached on the 25th, I found an English frigate, the *Meander*, Captain Bastard, with a division of five gun-boats.

Immediately on my arrival I received a visit from the mayor, accompanied by the chief commissary of police : I informed them of my errand, and desired them to apprise the commander of Bastia that I should wish to confer with him. I soon after waited upon him and communicated my credentials. The commandant informed me of what he had done to induce King Joachim to deliver himself into his hands ; he further acquainted me that some days before, the *Meander* had arrived from Leghorn, having on board an English officer who styling himself aid-de-camp to the British commander of Genoa, had brought a summons to *Mr. Murat*, in which he was invited to deliver himself up forthwith

to this officer, under some threatened *pains and penalties*. That the officer had been politely received by King Joachim, who questioned him as to the authority of the persons who had sent him, and his instructions? the manner in which he the king was to be disposed of? and the guarantee they had to offer him? That to these interrogatories the only answer he could make, was, that he had orders to summon *Mr. Murat*, in the name of the allied sovereigns, to deliver himself up to his excellency the British commander in chief at Genoa!! I was further informed by the commandant that Captain Bastard had come from Leghorn on a similar errand from Lord Burghersh, the British minister at Florence; and that he the commandant and Captain Bastard had joined in framing and signing a summons in the name of the allied powers, and *of his excellency Lord Burghersh* for the king to surrender himself. The commandant concluded by shewing me a copy of this document, which was addressed "*to Mr. Murat,*" and he gave me a printed copy of King Joachim's answer. I then observed, that I was much surprised that he or his associates could have expected to succeed by such means. Captain Bastard, who spent the greatest part of the day with me, confirmed the commandant's statement, and informed me that great alarm prevailed at Naples, where it had been reported that an attack was contemplated by King Joachim, but that every necessary preparation had been made to repel it, and that it was his,

Captain Bastard's, intention to send his gun-boats round that morning to Ajaccio, whilst he himself should cruise off the straits of Bonafacio, by which he said he expected to prevent the departure of the king's flotilla, or to capture it if it should get out of port.

Both Captain Bastard and myself were confident that the king would gladly accept the proposals I was authorised to make to him, and I was confident that on receiving my letter from Calvi, he would delay his expedition, even if it had been ready to sail, and therefore I submitted to Captain Bastard the propriety of postponing the execution of his plan, until the result of my mission was known, which he agreed to do, and moreover promised to remain at Bastia until he heard from me on the subject.

Captain Bastard observed, he had no doubt, that in the event of the king's acceptance of the proposed asylum, he might be authorised to convey the king and his suite to their destination, according to the terms of the passport which I shewed him. Previously to my leaving Bastia I received a visit from two Corsican gentlemen, who had arrived from Leghorn in the Meander. They were brothers, of the name of Carabelli: one of them, a captain on half pay, had served many years in the Royal Corsican Rangers in the English service; the other had occupied for some years a respectable civil situation in the kingdom of Naples.

These gentlemen, after some previous conversation, produced a document, signed by one Medici, minister of police and of foreign affairs to King Ferdinand, by which they were commissioned by this Medici to impede, counteract, and weaken, by all the means in their power, the expedition of King Joachim, particularly by diminishing the number of his followers, and by pointing out the inevitable destruction which must await them. They both joined me in the perfect conviction that King Joachim would willingly accept the asylum I was empowered to offer him ; and hearing that I intended to depart for Ajaccio, they proposed that we should travel in company, to which I readily acceded.

I set out on my journey to Ajaccio about midnight, the mayor of Bastia having furnished me with a sufficient number of mules for myself, attendants, and baggage. Our party consisted of fifteen persons, including seven soldiers, all well armed.

The beautifully picturesque scenery of the country through which we passed ; the abrupt, confused, and stupendous piles of granite mountain rising one above the other, and covered from their base to the summit with stately chesnut trees, oaks and pines, but above all the stern independent character of the romantic natives, hospitable in the extreme, and implacable in their enmities, but brave and open-hearted :—these would form

the subjects of an interesting digression, but it would be foreign to my story, and therefore I shall not dwell on the description.

After twenty hours incessant travelling I arrived at Corté, the capital, situated about the centre of the island. I was here met by a courier with a letter from King Joachim, in which he informed me that in consequence of my letter over land from Calvi, he had delayed his departure, which otherwise would have taken place that same evening, and desired me most earnestly to hasten my arrival at Ajaccio. The courier brought me a good horse with a saddle, by which means I was enabled to perform the rest of my journey with ease and celerity.

I arrived at Ajaccio on the afternoon of the 28th September. The house occupied by the king was distinguishable by his standard, and by the centinels which were planted at the door. I immediately sent to the king, to enquire when he would be pleased to receive me, and he returned for answer that I might come to him immediately. I thought it requisite, however, to communicate to him in diplomatic form by letter the object of my mission. I wrote the letter, and was myself the bearer of it. He received me with the utmost kindness and cordiality, and upon my giving him a brief account of the manner in which I had obtained for him from the Emperor of Austria the offer of an asylum, he expressed

his warmest acknowledgments for my exertions in his behalf, and his entire approbation of my conduct.

I now had recourse to every argument and supplication in my power to induce him to accede to the proposal, and I informed him that an English frigate waited at Bastia to convey him to Trieste. He replied, *that I was come too late, that the die was cast, that he had waited nearly three months with the utmost patience, and at the constant risk of his life for the decision of the allies. That it appeared evident to him that he had been abandoned by the sovereigns who had so lately courted his alliance, to perish by the revengeful daggers of his enemies, and that he had at length resolved to attempt to regain his kingdom. He declared that although he entertained the greatest confidence in the success of his intended expedition for that purpose, still, in one respect, the result was a matter of indifference to him, as he should at least have it in his power to meet death, which he had so repeatedly faced in the field. That the war in which he had been engaged with England and Austria, during the course of which he had been obliged to take refuge in Corsica, could not remove him from his position as a sovereign acknowledged by all Europe. That kings in going to war for territory, do not intend to question their respective titles to the crowns they have worn, nor do they cease reciprocally to consider them as*

sacred. That when it happens by the fate of war a monarch is driven from his capital, he has a right to return if he can find the means; that he had signed no abdication.

Notwithstanding the justice and truth of these observations I persisted in conjuring him to abandon his project, to accept the refuge which was offered, and in the bosom of his family, to await some favourable turn in the affairs of Europe, which might lead to the re-establishment of his fortunes.

These arguments were, however, of no avail, and the king concluded his reasons for persisting in his resolution, by observing that he *had now compromised three hundred brave officers and men*, who if abandoned by him must inevitably become victims to the vengeance of their government. He then informed me that he intended to sail with his expedition that night : on which I requested the king to give me a written answer to the proposal I had been charged to make to him : he instantly wrote in my presence the following reply, in which his real intentions regarding his expedition are disguised.

Ajaccio, 25th September, 1815.

Mr. Macirone, envoy of the allied powers to King Joachim.—I have just perused the dispatches of which you are the bearer. I accept the passport which you are charged to deliver to me, and I shall use it to repair to the destination fixed in it. As to

the condition which his imperial and royal majesty annexes to the offer of an asylum in Austria, I reserve to myself the privilege of treating upon this important article at the period when I shall be united to my family.

The disrespectful summons which the captain of his Britannic Majesty's frigate has addressed to me, prevents me from accepting the offer which you make me, in *his* name, to receive me on hoard *his* vessel.

Persecuted and menaced, even in Corsica, because some persons ventured to accuse me of sinister intentions on this island, I had already prepared for my departure, in effect, I shall set out this night.

I accept with pleasure the valets de chambre which you are pleased to cede me.

Whereupon, Mr. Macirone, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

The original signed,

JOACHIM.*

This letter the king then thought necessary to give me, in consequence of having been apprised by his friends at Bastia of the arrival of the brothers, Carabelli, and of their errand, to whom he knew that it would be expected I should transmit the answer, and from whom he at first wished to conceal his purpose ; but afterwards, about 11

* For the original French, see Appendix (F).

o'clock he sent for the Carabelli, who had been in his service and acquainted him with his designs ; when Carabelli did all in his power to dissuade him from the undertaking, but in vain.

The king engaged me to dine with him.--The party consisted of about twelve persons, who composed the staff of his little army : amongst the number were, Generals Franceschetti, his aid-de-camp, and General ———, besides five or six colonels.---During dinner the king conversed with his usual gaiety and affability ; he was urgent in his enquiries about his family, and about those of his court, who he feared might have suffered in the political convulsion which had recently taken place. He also particularly questioned me after his good and honorable friends, as he termed them, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland, Sir Robert Wilson, Lord Sligo, Lord Oxford, Lord Landaff, General Matthews, and several other English noblemen and persons of rank. If I here take the liberty of particularizing the names of these personages, I think myself warranted in so doing, from the desire the king expressed that they should be apprized of his remembrance, and from the conviction I have, that these *personages will not feel less disposed to accept recollections, because they were dictated in an hour of misfortune.*—To the English nation in general, he paid the highest tributes of praise and admiration ; and he alluded to their late hostilities

against himself, only as to measures of which they would soon discover the erroneous policy. He likewise spoke at considerable length of the battle of Waterloo, and much praised the valour and discipline of the English troops ; but he reprobated the manner in which the French cavalry had been employed and sacrificed.--He then proceeded to demonstrate to me the manœuvres and measures, which he said he should have directed and adopted if he had commanded the cavalry, and which he flattered himself would certainly have ensured a very different result.

After dinner he desired me to attend him in his private apartment.--Here I again took an early opportunity of resuming my supplications to him to abandon his project, but I found him immovable in his resolution. I now, however, reflected that it was not impossible but some circumstance might occur, during the execution of, or even previous to his commencement of the attempt, which might lead him to alter his intentions, either from necessity or change of council, and dispose him to take advantage of the offer he then rejected.--In this view I consigned to him the passport for Trieste, which I had received from Prince Metternich, in the hope that he might, during the course of his voyage, determine to avail himself of it, and abandon his hostile enterprize. I moreover furnished him with the answers which I had received through

Sir C. Stuart from the English ministry, to my application in his name for permission to retire to England.

He observed to me, that the letter which he had just addressed to me, contained a deception, which he regarded as unbecoming his dignity ; he therefore informed me that it was his intention to address another letter to me, in which he would inform me of his real intentions, and enter into some explanations concerning the motives of his conduct.—He accordingly sat down at his desk in my presence, and with his own hand wrote the following letter, which he ordered his secretary to transcribe, he then signed it, and the transcript thus signed was afterwards sent to me.

Ajaccio, 28th September, 1815.

Mr. Macirone, envoy of the allied powers to King Joachim.—My first letter of this day was dictated by the circumstances of the moment. It is now, however, a duty which I owe to myself—to truth—and to your noble frankness and sincerity, to acquaint you with my real intentions.

I value my liberty above every other blessing.—Captivity and death are to me synonymous.—What treatment can I expect from those powers who abandoned me for two months to the daggers of the assassins of Marseilles?—I saved the Marquis de Riviere's life—he was condemned to perish on the scaffold ; I obtained his pardon from the emperor.—

Execrable truth!—*He* instigated these wretches,—*he* it was who set a price on my head!!!*

Wandering in the woods, hidden in the mountains, I owe my life solely to the generous compassion which my misfortunes excited in the breasts of three French officers; they conveyed me to Corsica, at the imminent peril of their lives.

Wretches there are who assert, that I have taken away with me great treasures from Naples: do they not know that when I received that kingdom in exchange for my grand duchy of Berg, (*which I possessed in virtue of a solemn treaty*) *I brought thither immense riches!—All was expended for the*

* It will be remembered, that the trials of the parties concerned in the plot to *assassinate* the First Consul, took place at Paris, in the month of July, 1804. General Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment; Georges Cadoudal, M. de Riviere, and sixteen others, were condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of property.

It is a well-known fact, that *M. de Riviere owed the pardon which was extended to him by Napoleon, entirely to the intercession of King Joachim and his consort*. The king himself informed me, that on a particular occasion, the queen, who had been much affected at an interview which she had granted to de Riviere's wife, passionately declared to her brother Napoleon, "*that she would not leave his presence until he had granted her supplications in de Riviere's behalf.*"

On the 25th of July, Georges and his accomplices were guillotined at the Place de Grève, and the Marquis de Riviere is at this moment His Most Christian Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople!! owing his life to the intercession of *this murdered king and his widow, and the mercy of Napoleon!*

improvement of my kingdom of Naples!—Has the sovereign who has since been placed on that throne recognised any of its former features?—Neither myself nor my family now possess decent means of subsistence.

I will not accept, Mr. Macirone, the conditions which you are charged to offer me. I perceive nothing in them, but an absolute abdication, on the mere condition that *I shall be permitted to exist*, but in eternal captivity, subjected to the arbitrary action of the laws *under a despotic government*. Is this moderation? — Is this justice?—Is this the regard—the respect due to an unfortunate monarch, who has been formally acknowledged by all Europe, and who in a very *critical moment decided the campaign of 1814*, in favour of *these very powers*, who, *now contrary to their own interests, pursue him with the overwhelming might of their persecutions?*

It is a well known truth that I drove back the Austrians as far as the Po, only because I had been persuaded by dint of intrigue that they were preparing to attack me, though without the concurrence of England. I judged it necessary to advance my line of defence, and gain the people to my cause.

No one knows better than you, Mr. Macirone, and Lord Bentinck himself, that I made the fatal movement of retreat, only upon the declaration of that general, that he felt himself obliged to support the Austrians, since they had claimed his aid. You are well aware of the causes which produced dis-

order and desertion in my fine army. False reports so artfully circulated of my death--of the landing of the English in Naples, the conduct of General Pignatelli Strongoli ; in fine, the treachery of some officers, who by their insinuations and example, succeeded with perfidious art to augment discouragement and desertion.

At this moment there does not exist a single individual of that army who is not sensible of his errors. I am going to join them--they all are eager to see me again at their head.---They, and every class of my well beloved subjects, have preserved to me their affections.

I have not abdicated.---I have a right to recover my crown, if God gives me the force and the means.---My presence on the throne of Naples could not now be a subject of dread.---It could no longer be pretended that I corresponded with Napoleon, who is at St. Helena.---Much to the contrary. Both England and Austria might reap advantages from it, which they may in vain expect from the sovereign whom it has pleased them to put in my place.

I indulge in these details, Mr. Macirone, because it is to you that I am writing.---Your conduct towards me, your reputation, and your name, give you claims to my candour and esteem.

You could not throw any obstacle in the way of my departure, though such might be your desire. By the time you receive this letter, I shall be well advanced towards my destination. I shall either

succeed, or terminate my misfortunes with my life. I have faced death a thousand and a thousand times in fighting for my country :—*shall I not be permitted to brave it once for myself?* I tremble only for the fate of my family.

I shall ever remember with pleasure the noble and delicate manner in which you have fulfilled your mission to me. It forms an agreeable contrast with the *gratuitously insolent and revolting behaviour of several other persons towards me*, who neither possessed the powers nor consideration which you enjoy.

I have given orders that your papers may be returned to you.—Whereupon, Mr. Macirone, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Signed in the original,

JOACHIM.*

Previously to my taking leave of the king, he observed that he owed me a considerable sum of money for several journies which I had taken on his account, from Italy to England, and for various articles which I had purchased in England for the

* The two original letters of King Joachim to me, were amongst my papers seized by order of the minister of police at Paris, and are still detained ; but I had sent copies to England from Toulon immediately on my return from Corsica, from which I have transcribed the copies here given, which I verify to be in conformity with the original.

N. B. For the original French, see Appendix (G).

queen : for which I had not been reimbursed ; he added that for the present it was only in his power simply to repay me, but he expressed a hope that he should at a future time be enabled to confer on me substantial proofs of his regard. He observed that he had but a small quantity of gold with him, but that he would give me a bill ; and he then drew a bill for 40,000 francs, payable to my order on a Mr. Barillon, banker at Paris ; he then wrote a letter of advice, and signed them both in my presence, and delivered them to me. Consigning to the king the two servants, and the trunk of clothes which I had brought for him, I took leave of him, and retired to my lodgings.

The house in which I lodged was within a stone's throw of the citadel, under the walls of which the king's flotilla lay. At about one o'clock in the morning I was aroused by the discharge of a gun, apparently of small calibre, this was followed by another, from a heavy piece of ordnance loaded with shot. I immediately dressed myself, and hastily repaired to the spot from whence the firing proceeded. Before I could reach the beach at the foot of the citadel, several other shots were fired. I was alarmed for the safety of the king ; but I soon discovered his little armament at some distance under sail. There were artillerymen upon the batteries, with lighted matches, but no more shots were fired. I spoke to a centinel on the walls, of whom I enquired the cause of the firing,

and whether it had not been directed against the king's vessels? His answer was, "you may depend upon it, we took care to fire quite in a contrary direction;" and added that "the first shot had been fired by the king's own vessel as a signal for getting under weigh." On this information, I returned to my apartments.

The first visit I received in the morning was from the mayor* of the city. He came to apprise me officially of the departure of King Joachim, who he informed me had sailed at one o'clock with not more than 250 men, who however were all veterans, and the most determined characters in the island. This account was shortly confirmed to me by the two M. Carabelli's. I was shortly after visited by Colonel Delaforest, military commander in Ajaccio, who informed me that from the first moment of the arrival of King Joachim in that city, he had been so entirely unable to controul his garrison, as not to have it in his power to oppose the least obstacle to the views and preparations of the king and his friends. The utmost that he had been able to

* This gentleman's name was Martinenghi. By his firmness, moderation, and conciliating conduct, he saved his country from the horrors of civil war. With this benevolent intent he remained at Ajaccio, on the approach of King Joachim, when all the other magistrates abandoned their posts. I have since learnt, that his stay in Ajaccio at that moment, has been regarded as a non-participation in the hatred of the French court to King Joachim, upon which pretext he has suffered much persecution.

effect, was having kept his men within the gates of the citadel, but on the sailing of the expedition, he thought it requisite at least to fire a few shots as a sign of non-concurrence. That the soldiers loudly exclaimed, that "the first who should put the match " to a gun, would certainly be saluted by a volley " from behind;" at length he had succeeded in persuading them to fire the few shots I heard, although in a direction quite contrary to that of the flotilla. He assured me that had he acted towards his garrison with less policy and cautious forbearance, they would have entirely broke from his command, and thus have given a first impulse, more than sufficient at that time, to create an universal insurrection and revolt in the island.

At this moment a person brought me the letter, addressed to me by the king, the contents of which I communicated to the persons who were with me; I immediately transmitted a copy to Prince Metternich, and another to the minister of police at Paris. I now felt that in conformity to my engagement with Captain Bastard, it was necessary that I should inform him of King Joachim's departure; I had been about to acquaint the king on the preceding evening that I should have to perform this unpleasant duty, when he quickly interrupted me, by asking whether I supposed him so shortsighted, as not to have foreseen the necessity of providing against this circumstance? and assured me that I and my companions had no sooner passed

the defiles above Bogognano, than they were immediately guarded so as effectually to prevent the return of a single individual, or even of an army back to Bastia. He added that they would continue to be guarded until the evening after his departure,* which would insure him the start of Captain Bastard by at least forty hours, which was more than he desired.

The occupation of the passes by the king's friends, indeed, presented an impediment to any communication with other parts of the island, which could not have been overcome by a thousand of the best troops in the world, if they had been at my disposal.†

It was mid-day before my dispatches were ready, when a courier was sent off with them, to whom the king's friends, who kept the passes, gave no interruption, being fully pre-possessed with an idea that any intelligence would have been conveyed by

* He sailed in the night between the 28th and 29th of September.

† Most people are acquainted with the great strength and inaccessibility, in a military point of view, of the island of Corsica. I think it was in 1795, that in the vicinity of Bogognano, 400 British soldiers were arrested on their march by some Corsicans, who defended their position in an old ruin for three days, when from want they were obliged to capitulate, but on the most honourable terms, and to the astonishment of the English, they were found to be only thirteen in number. They had killed or wounded fifty-seven English, including several officers, amongst whom was the commander.

the gens d'armes who had escorted me to Ajaccio. Captain Bastard received my letter in thirty hours, and in forty-two hours after the sailing of the king. He immediately set sail in pursuit of him, but did not overtake him.

I was detained at Ajaccio by contrary winds for some days after the departure of the king. I then sailed for Toulon, in a vessel which I had hired for the voyage. At the time of the king's sailing, as well as for a considerable time before, the weather had been uniformly fine and serene, but on the night after his sailing, a violent storm dispersed his little squadron, which, as I have already said, consisted of five small vessels. The intention of the king had been to land at Salerno, which is within thirty miles of Naples, and where a considerable number of old Neapolitan troops were re-organising. On the storm subsiding, he found himself at the entrance of the gulph of St. Euphemia, entirely separated from the rest of his squadron. Thus situated, he for reasons, with which I am not well acquainted, decided on landing immediately in the vicinity of Pizzo, in preference to returning towards Salerno in search of the rest of his force. The felucca which carried the king, was the smallest and the swiftest of the flotilla. Besides sailors, the number of persons on board, consisted of thirty-one, all veteran officers, amongst whom was General Franceschetti. These, with the king at their head, who was habited in a splendid uniform, landed within

half a mile of the town of Pizzo. At this eventful moment, the first who re-beheld the person of their heroic but unfortunate sovereign, were a few soldiers, called coast-guards, who from curiosity, or in execution of their duty, had repaired to the spot where he landed. Some of the men immediately recognised the king, and placing their *shakos* on their bayonets, saluted him with the most enthusiastic cheers. He now lost no time in proceeding with his party to the town of Pizzo, and arrived at the market place; where he addressed the throng by which he was surrounded. Many of the inhabitants saluted him as king, and prepared to join him, the rest manifested a degree of timidity and suspense. He, however, did not think proper to wait there to increase his force; but having been supplied by the inhabitants with a sufficient number of horses, immediately proceeded towards Monteleone.

It may be necessary to observe that the principal part of the town of Pizzo and its dependencies belong to the Spanish grandee, the Duke del Infantado. This circumstance naturally gives to the agent of the duke, who resides there, much influence over the inhabitants. The king had no sooner quitted the town than this agent of the duke harangued the people in the market-place, appealing principally to their fears, and demanding whether they could be aware of the dreadful punishment and extermination to which they would be subjected for not having opposed the progress of the

invader. He thus contrived to induce several of the people to take up arms, and place themselves under his command. In the mean time King Joachim was hastening towards Monteleone ;* he had not, however, proceeded far before he was met by a colonel of gens d'armes, named Trentacapelli, who was on his way from Monteleone to Pizzo. The king invited the colonel to join him, and proceed with him to Monteleone ; but the colonel, fearing perhaps to confide in such apparent feeble means, respectfully declined the proposal, and pointing towards Monteleone, he observed, “ he “ would regard *him* as his sovereign, whose flag he “ should behold flying on the castles.” On this the king imprudently suffered him to proceed to Pizzo, where he found the agent of the Duke del Infantado using his utmost influence with the people, to induce them to arm in the cause of Ferdinand. The arrival of the colonel gave a new impulse to this measure ; he united his efforts and authority to the persuasions and influence of the agent, and without loss of time put himself at the head

* From the various and concurring accounts which I have obtained from many respectable persons, who were at that time at Naples, it appears that if the king had but reached Monteleone, the capital of the Calabrians, he would undoubtedly have succeeded in his enterprise. The Calabrians were in a most unsettled state ; and the dauntless warlike inhabitants were greatly attached to King Joachim. They also detested the Austrians, who had not been able to obtain the least footing in the country.

of a strong party, and hastened to pursue the king, who by this time had got half way to Monteleone.

The colonel and his party had not proceeded far from the town, before his approach was perceived by King Joachim, whose ruin was at this moment consummated by a most fatal mistake. It occurred to the king and his followers, that the armed party, which from their elevated situation, they could see at a considerable distance, had been collected by Colonel Trentacapelli with the intention of joining them. With this idea the king suspended his march, thinking it more advisable to await this expected reinforcement, previous to his entrance into the city of Monteleone. On the nearer approach of these supposed friends, the king advanced some steps to meet them, and some of his little troop shouted, "viva il Ré Gioachino!" when to their surprise they were answered by a volley of musquetry. A sharp contest immediately ensued; the king's party fought desperately, some of them were killed, and many wounded. It was not possible for them entirely to disperse a force so superior in point of numbers, and they could not advance to Monteleone with these enemies in their rear; the king therefore determined to regain his vessel. Followed by General Franceschetti and about twelve others, he rushed through the thickest of his enemies, of whom he slew several with his own hand, and discharged his last pistol in the face of Colonel Trentacapelli, but without killing him.

The hostile party were astonished by this daring attack, and thrown into confusion, when the king profiting by their consternation, pushed forward and reached the beach, where he had left his vessel, himself unhurt, though all the others were wounded.

At this moment he would undoubtedly have been saved, if his vessel had been there to receive him, but she was standing out to sea. The commander, Captain Barbará, had heard the firing between the king and his pursuers, and consulting only his own safety, left the coast, and abandoned the king to his fate. In this desperate situation the king threw himself into the water and gained a fishing-boat which lay close at hand. Franceschetti and the rest followed him. The boat was unfortunately aground, and the king's efforts to push it off proved ineffectual. Finding this boat immoveable, the king again threw himself into the sea and got into another, a very small one, which was about twenty yards distant from the other. By this time the beach was crowded by the king's pursuers, but none of them now attempted to fire at him, nor dared to approach him, all stood gazing at him in astonishment, and in the little boat he might have escaped, but it was unfortunately fastened to the shore, and he could not disengage the rope. The fisherman to whom it belonged, perhaps from the fear of losing it, at length seized the head and pulled it towards the beach, while one of his companions waded into the

sea, got into the boat, and attempted to seize the king, who struck the fellow on the head with his fist, and knocked him overboard. Numbers now followed the example of the two fishermen, and the boat was completely surrounded, but still no one attempted to offer violence to the king's person. He stood up unarmed in the midst of his assailants, intreating them to suffer him to depart, and as a last hope, produced his passport for Trieste. Finding his persuasions and resistance useless, he was constrained to deliver himself into the hands of his enemies.

The intelligence of the event was immediately conveyed by telegraph to Naples. The military commander of the district, lately placed there by King Ferdinand, received orders by the same expeditious conveyance to assemble a court martial to try King Joachim. The trial was very summary; the king received his sentence with a smile of contempt and indignation. He wrote a most affectionate farewell letter to his wife and children, which he earnestly begged might be safely delivered. He declared that he thought it incumbent upon him to die in the profession of the religion in which he had been educated, and requested the assistance of a clergyman, from whom he received the Eucharist. He had upon his person a portrait of his queen and children, which he placed upon his breast; and refusing to sit upon a stool which was offered him, or to have his eyes covered, he

smiled upon his executioners, and received the fatal fire.

Thus fortune was for once adverse to courage, and the blood of a hero was permitted to be lawlessly, uselessly, and inhumanly shed, by a sovereign who had never been wronged by his victim. His death was ignominious only to his enemies. Those who had been his subjects will revere his memory. France may reproach it for the evils to which he unintentionally contributed, and Europe will for a time be insensible of the ingratitude he experienced, in consequence of a feigned or unfounded belief in the double perfidies which were imputed to him ;* but when the book of truth shall be unfolded, it will appear that the errors of Murat were not errors of his heart, and that the treachery

* An attempt was made by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons to prove King Joachim was carrying on a perfidious correspondence with Napoleon, during the time he was engaged to act with the allies; but Mr. Hobhouse, in his Letters, has demonstrated the fraudulent character of the documents produced in support of that allegation, and convicted the king's enemies of forgeries to deceive the British minister.

Two letters were also brought forward as authority to justify the refusal of the king's recognition after the peace of 1814; but were Lord William Bentinck and General Nugent qualified judges to sanction the dethronement of a sovereign who had remonstrated against their proceedings? and if their accusation were to have such important consequences, ought they to have been required in a secret correspondence, which afforded no opportunity to the accused to vindicate himself?

of which he was accused, never dishonoured his courage, or true nobility of mind.

I was detained at Ajaccio, as I have before mentioned, by contrary winds for some days after King Joachim's expedition had sailed, and I did not arrive at Toulon, on my way to Paris, until the 12th of October, when being obliged to perform quarantine, I took advantage of this delay in my journey, to send by the post to Prince Metternich, and to the French minister of police copies of King Joachim's proclamations, and of the other documents which I had received from him; and my money having fallen short and not having provided myself with letters of credit on Toulon, I was further constrained to await the arrival of a remittance from Paris.

During the period of my quarantine I was requested by M. Latourette, the sub-prefect of Toulon, in the name of the prefect of the department, to furnish some account of the circumstances of King Joachim's departure from Corsica; I immediately signified my readiness to comply with his wishes, and for that purpose I was invited to repair from the Lazaret to the Quarantine Parlatory, which is situated in the port of Toulon. I communicated to the sub-prefect all I knew on the subject, and I permitted him to take copies of the various documents which had any relation to the transaction.

There was present at the conversation, besides M. De Latourette and his secretary, another individual, of a most forbidding appearance, who frequent-

ly introduced his remarks and observations, in a manner and with an air of importance which excited my attention. This person, whose name was Barthelemy,* informed me with the greatest self-complacency that he had used his utmost efforts to effect the destruction of King Joachim when he was concealed in the vicinity of Toulon, and gave me an account of the nocturnal expedition to the house they suspected he occupied, and which I have already related ; on which *humane* but unsuccessful enterprise he informed me he had *had the honour* to accompany M. Mocau. In order to sound this miscreant, I asked him how, with the knowledge they must have had of the king's personal courage and prowess, they could ever expect to take him alive ? In reply to which he did not hesitate to assure me that this *was never expected or intended*. He said it was well known that the king carried about his person diamonds to the value of several millions of francs. At the mention of this property I observed that it appeared to me the persecution which the king had suffered might be very much attributed to the zeal of his enemies to possess themselves of

* This man in the year 1796 was the friend and coadjutor of the notorious Jourdan Coupetête, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Orange. Barthelemy now kept a small earthenware shop, and enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the emigrant Count de Lardenoy, commander of Toulon. He could arrest any person he thought proper by virtue of an *ad libitum* written authority from this governor.

his supposed riches ; and I added that it was surprising to me, that a few individuals in obscure situations should of their own authority have taken those measures against the king, at the very time the allied powers were occupied in providing for his safety, and had dispatched me to him with the offer of an asylum. To this observation M. Barthelemy answered, that I was very much mistaken, if I supposed that himself or his companions had acted without authority ; he assured me that the Marquis de Riviere, as well as *the British commander* at Marseilles, had each offered a reward of twenty thousand francs as a stimulus to their exertions in the pursuit of the king. I affected to doubt this assertion, and addressing myself to the secretary of the sub-prefect, I interrogated him as to its accuracy. He in the presence of at least a dozen persons, most of whom were official characters, instantly confirmed the declaration of the sub-prefect, as a circumstance of public notoriety, which seemed, in his opinion, *to reflect much honour* upon the personages by whom the rewards had been offered, and which confirmed, as he said, the brave and zealous royalists of Marseilles and Toulon, in the conviction of their having acted in perfect coincidence with the views of their royal court.

I had been released from quarantine, and was anxiously waiting the return of the post from Paris, with a remittance, when I unexpectedly received a message from M. Rosily, special commissary of

police at Toulon, by which I was informed that the Marquis de Riviere, who commanded the department of *Bouches du Rhone*,* wished to see me at Marseilles, for the purpose, as M. Rosily supposed, of obtaining information concerning the state of Corsica, since the marquis had recently received a commission to organize and consolidate the government of that island, previous to his proceeding on his embassy to Constantinople, to which he had been then lately appointed. I waited on M. Rosily, who informed me that the marquis had been at Toulon two days before, and had endeavoured to persuade the Count de Lardenoy, the governor, to arrest me, and that the count had intimated to him (M. Rosily) an intention of complying with the marquis's wish, but that he, M. Rosily, declared to the count that such matters rested with himself, who was at the head of the police, and that he thought it his duty to protest against such a violent measure in regard to a person who was invested with a diplomatic character; and that if the governor thought proper to send his gens d'armes to molest my person, he should dispatch a greater number to pro-

* The Marquis de Riviere enjoyed the unbounded confidence and support of King Louis. His power and his functions in the south of France were unlimited and undefined. In these he was occasionally strengthened by the *benign influence* of the Duke d'Angouleme's presence. *The occurrences at Avignon, Nismes, &c. are proofs of the mildness with which this conjoint power was executed.*

tect me. M. Rosily, was however so far influenced by the Marquis de Riviere, as to insist upon my immediately quitting Toulon. I assured him that the only obstacle for my so doing was the want of money, and I requested twenty-four hours further delay to supply that deficiency.

Our conversation now turned upon various subjects, and I took an opportunity of questioning M. Rosily concerning the persecution of King Joachim.—I received from this magistrate an entire confirmation of what I had learnt from Barthelemy. He assured me that he was well acquainted with a person, whom he named, who was suspected of knowing his (Joachim's) retreat, and who had received from *Lord Exmouth the promise of a reward of a thousand Louis for the seizure of Joachim's person, but that the bribe was nobly refused.*

On quitting M. Rosily, I had the good fortune to meet with a person, who from having some previous knowledge of me, was so obliging as to furnish me with a hundred pounds on my bill on Paris; and while I was preparing for my departure one of the principal magistrates of Toulon, whose name for obvious reasons I must suppress, waited on me for the purpose of cautioning me against placing myself in the power of the Marquis de Riviere. I thanked him for his kindness and humanity, but at the same time assured him that being conscious of no fault, and feeling perfectly secure in my public capacity, whatever might be the disposition of

the marquis, I was at all events sure of the protection of *Lord Exmouth*, the *commander in chief* of the *British forces* in the Mediterranean *then residing at Marseilles*. Thus circumstanced I did not hesitate in proceeding to Marseilles, though I might have avoided that city and have reached Paris by a different route.

I left Toulon on the 21st of October, and arrived at Marseilles on the same day. As I reached the first houses of the town my carriage was surrounded by gens d'armes, who signified to me that I was arrested, and that they had orders to conduct me to the Marquis de Riviere. My postillion observed it was to the house of the marquis that I had already ordered him to drive.

The marquis received me with politeness, but with his *well known* smile. I proceeded to expostulate with him on the unnecessary and unwarrantable violence with which I was treated, and requested him to inform me what crime was laid to my charge. He gave me no direct answer, but ordered one of his attendants immediately to go to Lord Exmouth's, and enquire if his lordship was at home and could receive him. The marquis then left the room, and soon after returned dressed in uniform. He still avoided coming to an explanation with me respecting my arrest. The person who had been sent to Lord Exmouth's soon returned, and informed the marquis that Lord Exmouth would be glad to receive him. The marquis left

me in the company of an aid-de-camp and some officers of the national guard, and after a lapse of nearly two hours he returned, accompanied by the special commissary of police of Marseilles, whose name was Rosiez, also in full uniform.

They now proceeded to interrogate me as to the object of my journey to Corsica. I answered by exhibiting my passport and credentials, which they confessed were perfectly regular. The marquis then proceeded to reproach me with having assisted a traitor and an enemy to France. I had been, he said, the original instigator of the generous measures adopted by the Emperor of Austria in favour of King Joachim, who I had thus screened from the vengeance of the French government. He moreover reproached me for having manifested a friendly disposition on my return to Toulon for M. Donnadiou,* who was

* The case of this meritorious officer, equally distinguished for his courage and literary acquirements, as well as for his unassuming modesty and goodness of heart, may justly be cited as an example of the capriciousness of fortune, and the frequent inefficiency of merit unsupported by patronage. M. Donnadiou has served his country upwards of twenty years. He distinguished himself at the siege of St. Juan d'Acre; and at the battle of the Nile, he was one of the few who escaped from on board the *L'Orient*, saving many of his shipmates at the risk of his own life. At the battle of Trafalgar he fought bravely on board the French admiral's ship. At one time he was the only person left standing on the quarter-deck ex-

one of the three officers who had conveyed King Joachim to Corsica. I answered that in the transaction to which he alluded, I was by no means the responsible person. The Duke of Wellington, Prince Metternich, the French ministers, were the persons who ought to bear any odium he might attach to the object of my mission, which had been resolved upon in the general council of the allied ministers. I observed further, I had merely been Prince Metternich's deputy, and that I had executed my

cept Admiral Villeneuve. He afterwards saved the ship when driven on a rock at the mouth of Cadiz harbour, during the dreadful storm which ensued, by volunteering to go on shore for assistance in a little canoe which was found in the hold of the ship. Shortly after this period, despairing of promotion in the navy he entered the army. He distinguished himself at the battles of Austerlitz and Wagram, and was with the army of Marshal Massena in Portugal. After having served with honour in the campaign in Poland and in Russia, he re-entered the navy. When it was proposed to him to assist in the escape of King Joachim to Corsica, he consented from the purest motives of generosity, and *afterwards refused to receive the slightest remuneration from the king, although his means were slender, having nothing but his pay as lieutenant to subsist on.* From Bastia, he returned to Toulon in the packet, and happening to be in quarantine at the same time with myself, I accidentally became acquainted with him. During his absence from Toulon he had been cashiered *without trial* by a royal decree, in which, *however, his crime was not mentioned.* My offence was having afforded him the aid and attention which his necessities required.

mission with zeal and activity. "That zeal and activity," said he, interrupting me, "is the strongest feature in your guilt: you know that Murat was on the point of meeting with the *punishment due to his crimes, and of falling a sacrifice to divine justice*, if you had not rescued him from our power, and obtained for him a safe retreat. You are an enemy to France and to your country, for having espoused the cause of a traitor to both." I asked this fanatic by what act King Joachim had wronged the King of France, and by what decree or public order he had been declared an enemy? To which he made no answer. I was then desired to deliver up my papers, which I refused to do, although I had none which could possibly compromise myself or any other person; but I vehemently protested against the lawless violence with which I was treated. My resistance, however, was useless, for by the order of the marquis I was seized by three gens d'armes, and minutely searched in his presence; every part of my carriage and effects were also carefully examined, as were the person and baggage of my servant.

While these atrocities were committing I observed to the marquis and to the commissary of police, that they could not be aware of the consequence of these wanton outrages upon an innocent Englishman, whose papers were so perfectly regular and unexceptionable. I said I should

certainly meet with protection from Lord Exmouth, who in quality of British commander in chief at Marseilles, would undoubtedly examine my case, and not connive at my being punished, perhaps murdered, unheard. The marquis noticed this only by a contemptuous sneer, and I was seized by the gens d'armes, who *bound my arms* with the straps of their carbines, and dragged me through the town for more than a mile in a most violent rain without my hat, which they had kept to examine. Having at length arrived at the prison, I was led through several low passages with innumerable iron doors and grates and massy bolts, and safely lodged in a stone cell seven feet square. My servant, as I afterwards learnt, was placed in another cell at no great distance from mine. Here the doors were all closed upon me, and I was left *without light or food*, of which I stood much in need. At about midnight I was visited by the gaoler, who informed me that according to the regulations of the prison I could only be provided with bread and water, and straw to lay on; but that if I felt inclined to pay well for it he would furnish me with better food and a mattress. Of course I agreed to his terms, and after taking some refreshment retired to rest. In the middle of the night I was awoke by the noise of unfastening the bolts and locks of the doors which led towards my cell, the door of which was presently opened and my bed surrounded by gens d'armes and gaolers. I

immediately conjectured that I was destined to share the fate of many other innocent persons who had been assassinated by these Marseillian ruffians ; and my only hope was that I might be able to possess myself of one of their weapons and sell my life as dearly as possible. I was, however, mistaken ; for after *having made me walk naked about my cell*, and having searched my boots and clothes, the fiends left me.

Several days now elapsed without my seeing any other person than my gaoler, who was as rough a Cerberus as ever had the custody of similar gates. I was *refused pen, ink, paper, fire, candle, knife and fork, or any thing metallic, except a leaden spoon, and I was neither allowed to shave myself or to be shaved.*

On the 27th of October, my first examination took place.—I was conducted to a distant part of the prison, and ushered into a small room, the door of which was guarded by gens d'armes with fixed bayonets. Here I found assembled the three commissioners charged with my examination. The special commissary of police, Rossiez, a colonel of gens d'armes, and an aide-de-camp of the Marquis de Riviere, who acted as *rapporteur*. I was invited to take a seat at the table, every scrap of paper which had been in my possession was now produced, and I was required to identify them separately.

On their commencing to interrogate me as to my life and conduct *from the time of my birth,*

I desired to be informed what crime was imputed to me, and I received for answer that I must conform to the rules of the police, *if ever I wished to re-behold the light of the sun*. I now most solemnly protested against this impious inquisitorial system, particularly as it was applied to me, not only an Englishman without charge of offence, but in violation of the laws of nations, as I was employed in the most sacred of all duties, and protected moreover by authentic credentials and passports. I however proceeded to inform the inquisitors, that to remove every pretext for mystery, and to convince them I had nothing to conceal, I would consent to give them any explanation they might desire. They then proceeded to re-interrogate me with the utmost minuteness concerning my life and actions, from the time of my birth to that day. The absurdity of some of their questions afforded me not a little amusement, and I could not refrain from occasionally smiling at them. I accounted for all my papers, and for every part of my public and private conduct in the most clear and satisfactory manner, and after having done so, I observed to the inquisitors, that they could no longer have any pretext for preventing my writing to Lord Exmouth, whose interference and protection I felt confident of obtaining. The commissary and colonel both answered with a sneer, that they had not the slightest objection to my writing to Lord Exmouth, and added, that I had better at the same time

write to the Duke d'Angouleme, who was at that very time in Marseilles. I immediately wrote to Lord Exmouth, the Marquis de Riviere, and the Duke d'Angouleme, and consigned my letters to the care of the aide-de-camp, who engaged to have them safely delivered. I have not been able to preserve a copy of either of my letters to the two last named personages, but they were both similarly worded. To Lord Exmouth I gave a general outline of my case, and as *an Englishman* claimed his protection, so far as to have the power of relating to him my story—I begged him to examine into my character and conduct, to have me tried and hung if I deserved it, but not to suffer me to be punished, not only without defence and conviction, but even *accusation*.

The next day I was visited by the aide-de-camp, who assured me, that he had seen my letters to Lord Exmouth and the Duke D'Angouleme delivered by the Marquis de Riviere himself on the preceding evening at the theatre.

On the 1st of November, I received the following letter from Lord Exmouth:

Boyne, off Marseilles, 1st November, 1815.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, *and not having had the honour of any previous communication with you*, I cannot forbear to express my SURPRISE, that under this

consideration *you should now call upon me for protection.* I have just had a conference with the Marquis de Riviere, from whom I learn that your request to proceed to Paris will be complied with.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

EXMOUTH.

To Colonel Macirone, &c. &c. &c.

My readers may easily imagine what my sensations were on the receipt of this letter. If his lordship did not think it right to interfere in my behalf, he might at least have told me so in inoffensive terms, but to excuse himself from interference on the ground of my not having sooner communicated with him, *knowing as he did that from the first moment of my arrival at Marseilles, I had been a close prisoner, denied all intercourse with society, and deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper,* was a mockery which might have been spared his own dignity and my feelings. If it had happened that I had not availed myself of the first opportunity to communicate with Lord Exmouth, (and I might not have thought it necessary in passing through Marseilles, to communicate with his lordship at all, had I met with no impediment on my journey ;) if I had even been guilty of a slight breach of etiquette towards his lordship, is he prepared to say that this would have been a *justifiable reason* for his re-

fusing to *protect a British subject* against the violent outrage and persecution of which I complained? But it appears by his lordship's letter, that he had "just had" a conference with the Marquis de Riviere, from whom he had learnt that my request to proceed to Paris would be complied with; from which I suppose it was intended I should infer that his lordship had interfered in my behalf. What the nature of this interference might have been I know not, but it obtained for me not the permission of proceeding *unmolested* on my journey, as the language might imply, but the special favour of being sent forward (with my own carriage indeed, and at my own expense) in the custody of two persons appointed by the police. After I received the letter from Lord Exmouth, I heard that a British consul had arrived at Marseilles, and I wrote with a pencil on some blank leaves which I tore from a book, three notes, which I addressed to the English consul. These I attached to the end of a rod and projected through my double grating, and contrived to drop into a passage which I had conjectured was a public thoroughfare. The papers, it seems, fell into the hands of a sentinel, who was placed under my grating, and on the following day I was deprived of my books.

It must not, however, be supposed that the system of moral torture which I was enduring is sanctioned by the laws of France. *Torture of every spe-*

cies was abolished by Louis 16th, and that sovereign ratified the decree of the National Convention, which protected the subject from arbitrary arrest and illegal detention, by a clause which obliged the magistrates to release all persons who could not be legally committed, according to prescribed form of examination, within twenty-four hours after seizure.

This same decree authorized the accused to have the assistance of an advocate during the examination, and intercourse with his relations and friends.

The Code Napoleon cancelled *none* of these stipulations in favour of the accused. The most strained construction of the spirit or letter of the enactments of that code, cannot elicit warrant for the practice of immuring a *suspected* person in a solitary dungeon ; separating him from his wife, children, and connections, *depriving him of all legal assistance, regulating his treatment and diet so as to promote the subjection of his mind by languor of body*, until the victim, prostrated by the treatment sacrifices his duty as a citizen to the impulse of his affections, and frequently has been obliged to frustrate the restoration of social endearment, by confessions which place future liberty and life at the disposal of the persecutors.

Now charges are never communicated to the prisoner until his *own confessions* have enabled the judge of instruction to draw out the warrant, and the prisoner is then sent to trial with *a record of self-condemnation*, and the preliminary process of inter-

rogatories, in which *power* and *subtlety* have exerted every means to intimidate and confound.

Modern justice in France seems to have no object but *to destroy*. And since loss of life was found to be desired by some unhappy men, as a relief from so much suffering as France was enduring, words and forms introduced in the *Code Napoleon* to *inspire terror*, but which had never been accompanied by deed, supplied the bloody authority for mutilations antecedent to death.*

The lessons of adversity are said to humanize the heart ; but alas ! she has found some too impenetrable to her tears or her philosophy.

The course of proceeding in the French system of judicature as at present practised is as follows :

1st. The accused suspected or devoted person, is arrested without assigned motive, either by word or writing.

2d. Detention in solitude, until so much offence is admitted as the judge thinks sufficient to justify the issue of the warrant for detention, and afford means for the conduct of the prosecution.

3d. Permission to communicate in public with counsel and friends, but no security against seizure

* The hands of Tolleron, Plignier, and Carbonnau were successively cut off, before the axe was suffered to terminate the miseries of one of the unhappy culprits.

of memoranda and papers necessary for the defence of the accused.*

4th. Admission of written depositions from parties turning king's evidence, *although those same parties have been removed by the police to deprive the accused of the right guaranteed by the law to cross-examine them in court.*†

5th. Examination of the accused in court *by the judges in the spirit of counsel against the prisoner!*‡

6th. In case of a verdict of acquittal, remand of prisoner for one month, on the plea that the *Procureur du Roi* may consider whether he will move for a new trial, when no such intention existed or could exist.||

In this analysis of the abuses of *the law* in France, no notice has been taken of the preliminary *arbi-*

* This practice is constant, and when an Englishman was in prison (Mr. Smith) all the notes with which he was preparing his defence, were seized and sent to the King's attorney general to enable him to frame his prosecution by them!! But Mr. Smith's courage was not to be subdued, and the vengeance of the French government was finally baffled.

† Vide proof in the State Trials.

‡ Every Englishman who attended proceedings at the French tribunals, has been disgusted at such shameless abuse of the judicial functions and character.

|| The cases of acquittal are rare, but this is the practice in all cases connected with opinion.

trary operations of the police, which are under no cognizance but those of the minister of that department.

This horrible engine of despotism, which respects no statute, no moral obligation, and none of the decencies of society ; which withers honour, blasts confidence, and crushes all individual liberty ; which *generates and nourishes* crime for “ *scaffold proofs* ” of its vigilance, and *renegade royalty*, which is the horror of France and the reproach of the age, has at length lanced a parricide sting against the parent bosom of the *ultras*, and the complaints of a Mr. Robert, styling himself a *Fidel Ami du Roi*, “ *quand même !* ” as well as the editor of a paper bearing that title, has excited an attention which the previous wrongs of above a hundred thousand men could not engage.*

Happy England ! who still possesses the palladi-

* A report has been made by the minister of police, Des Cazes, to the Chamber of Deputies, in which he pretends that only three hundred and fifty persons have been arrested by his authority since the return of the king. There may be some trick of words, some subtlety of legal terms and forms to bear out this declaration, but the fact is indisputable, that above one hundred and forty thousand persons have been taken up in France since the epoch stated. I appeal to Messrs. Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson, if *above seven thousand prisoners* did not enter *La Force* during the time of their confinement, coming from the prisons of the Prefecture of Police ; and if *above one hundred and forty* in one night were not occasionally sent ? I appeal to all the Englishmen who visited these gentlemen, or who have since had the opportunity of inspecting the French

um of public and private liberty, in the right of petitions, the bill of Habeas Corpus, and the liberty of the press, but much wronged England, in having been made the founder and Janissary guard of a tyranny more odious, because under the designation of "*Legitimate*," it mocks the understanding as well as the rights of mankind !

Having failed in my attempt to inform the British consul of my situation, and the extraordinary letter of Lord Exmouth having precluded all hope of his interference in my behalf, I regarded resistance as fruitless, and submitted with resignation to the tyranny of my persecutors. I must, however, not omit to mention a circumstance which aggravated my misfortune, by making me the instrument of injury to others.

In passing through Marseilles on my way to Toulon, I had been accosted by a gentleman who having known me at Naples, kindly made me a tender of his services.—I inserted his name and address in my pocket-book. This address being discovered by the inquisitors, I was questioned as to the cause of my having it in my possession.*

prisons in Paris, or in the departments, if the prisons were not choked with victims ? The truth is, that where Napoleon arrested one, Louis has arrested fifteen or even more.

Let *legitimacy*, for its honour, contradict this statement with proofs, if it can.

* I was forced to account most minutely for every word or line of writing that was found upon me or amongst my effects,

I explained the circumstance, and while I was doing so I observed M. Rossiez, the commissary of the police, say something to the colonel of the gens d'armes, and I distinctly heard the colonel reply that he would give orders for his being arrested that night. I afterwards learnt that my courteous friend at Marseilles, merely in consequence of his name being found in my pocket-book had been arrested, and kept *upwards of a month in close confinement*.

A *young actress of Toulon*, whose name and address were also found in the same unlucky pocket-book, shared a similar fate.

I had now been confined between two and three weeks with almost undiminished rigor ; for although I had obtained the special privilege of burning the lights which I had provided for my carriage lamps, and purchasing a breakfast and a hot dinner at the expence of about a Napoleon a day, I still was denied the use of any other implement than a leaden spoon. The weather was extremely cold, and being without fire I was obliged in order to keep myself warm to measure perpetually, until I was giddy, the five short steps which I was enabled to take from corner to corner of my cell.

The latter period of my confinement at Marseilles was rendered particularly dreary by the knowledge I then had of the unhappy fate of him on whose account I was suffering. No sooner had the news of King Joachim's murder reached Mar-

seilles, than the Marquis de Riviere hastened to dispatch his aid-de-camp to my dungeon with the intelligence. This aid-de-camp was the man who officiated as *rapporteur* to the commissioners charged with my examination. He had all along evinced the greatest rancour towards me, and he now entered with savage exultation into a minute account of King Joachim's death, reading to me a part of the letter, which in his last moments he addressed to his wife and children. It will not appear surprising that I should have been deeply affected by the recital; not being able to suppress my emotion I gave vent to my tears, which drew from this dastardly aid-de-camp an observation "that he who
" could feel so much affliction at the just punishment
" of a traitor, could not himself be otherwise than
" a very bad subject" (*un fort mauvais sujet.*)

I think it was about the 10th November, that I was summoned to be ready by midnight to set out for Paris. I enquired whether my servant would not be allowed to accompany me, as I presumed there was no cause of complaint against him, but to my great surprise, I was answered by the aid-de-camp in the negative—who allowed that my servant had given a very satisfactory account of himself *for the last eight years of his life*, but that *previously* his character and conduct were *not quite clear!!* This anecdote must appear highly improbable to those who are not acquainted with that iniquitous system which I have already de-

scribed, but it is strictly true, and in perfect conformity with the general spirit of its proceedings.

When the time fixed for my departure arrived, I was conducted from the prison gate to my carriage through a double file of soldiers. A captain of the national guards and a serjeant of gens d'armes were ordered by the Marquis de Riviere to attend me in my journey. These persons were rendered responsible for my safe delivery into the hands of the minister of police at Paris. During the journey I had every reason to be satisfied with the politeness and courtesy of the former, and the latter was only a disagreeable travelling companion on account of his enormous bulk, being more than six feet five inches high, and of a proportionate breadth.—Although I was still a prisoner, yet I derived considerable enjoyment from breathing the fresh air, and from the sight of the country through which I passed.—To heighten my enjoyment, I took an early opportunity of ridding myself of my beard, which I had not been able to do once during my confinement.—On my journey, I, however, lost my portmanteau, containing about fifty pounds in gold, and this loss made me feel that there was seldom happiness without alloy.

On my arrival at Paris I was immediately taken before the minister of police, De Cazes. The *proces verbal* of my inquisitorial examinations at Marseilles, together with all my papers were before him. I addressed him with the assurance and self-

possession of an innocent man, and requested him to inform me of the nature of the crime which had been laid to my charge.—He evidently felt at a loss how to answer me, or upon what point to attack me, and instead of replying to my questions, he asked me in an authoritative tone, *how I had dared to take charge of two hundred thousand francs, which he said the Duke of Otranto (Fouché) who was the minister of police at the time of my leaving Paris, had given me in gold to convey to King Joachim?* Secondly, how I came to be possessed of three Corsican poignards and of a paper of horrid poison, (corrosive sublimate as he termed it) which were, with the exception of the gold, found with my baggage? It was easy for me to perceive that the charges here implied had originated in the secret insinuations of the Marquis de Riviere, as no such ridiculous attempt had been made at Marseilles in the interrogatories which were put to me there. I very well remembered, that in the investigation of my papers, a small packet of *calomel* was found, which was opened, examined and thrown aside; but I recollected that I some time afterwards saw the aid-de-camp who was *rapporteur* to the commissioners, clandestinely, and as he thought unperceived, put the paper of *calomel* into his pocket.

Although I felt the greatest difficulty in refraining from laughing in the minister's face, still I proceeded to answer these unlooked for charges with calmness. I assured the minister, and I now so

lemnly declare the truth to be, that *I did not receive a single franc from Fouché or any other person, to convey to King Joachim, although I might have considered myself authorized to accept of such a commission, if it had been proposed to me by a person so high in office as the French minister of police.*—I further observed, that as to the poignards and poison, I had purchased the former in Corsica as curiosities, they being of exquisite workmanship, and that the latter, as his excellency might easily ascertain, was *calomel*, of which I occasionally took a small portion in travelling.

After a long conversation, the minister finding that these paltry accusations had not even a shadow of foundation, candidly informed me, that the Emperor of Austria, in having agreed to permit King Joachim to reside in his dominions, had acted contrary to the *views and policy* of the *French government*, and that I had rendered myself obnoxious by the part I had taken in that measure.

It will be readily supposed that I did not fail to observe to M. De Cazes, that if the generous offer to which he referred had really been so odious to His Most Christian Majesty, he might easily have opposed it while the measure was in agitation in the council of the ministers of the allied powers, at *which Prince Talleyrand assisted*;—that I had been but the mere bearer of the conditions which were offered, and the odium, if any, ought to fall upon *Prince Metternich* and the *Duke of Wel-*

lington, who first proposed the measure : to which M. De Cazes answered, " that I had been " its original promoter."

As it was now evident that M. De Cazes could not substantiate any charge against me, I concluded that my sufferings were at an end.---However, during my conversation with him, a person entered the room in which we were, and I was desired to step for a moment into an adjoining apartment, where to my great surprise I found several gend'armes, who immediately carried me to the prison of the Conciergerie, where I was again thrown into *solitary* confinement. My first step was to write to Sir Charles Stuart and to Prince Metternich, and the gaoler undertook to deliver my letters to the prefect of police, who he assured me would hold himself bound to forward them to their respective addresses. I soon, however, had ocular proof that the letters were not sent. The malicious farce of interrogating me was repeated, and my first examination took place at the Conciergerie, when the usual preliminary questions were put concerning my birth, name and profession. The person charged with the proceeding, persisted in describing me as a field officer in the Neapolitan service. This attempt I successfully opposed—alleging that my former military rank had been entirely subservient to the higher qualification of aid-de-camp to the King of Naples, which function would at all events have ceased with the king's overthrow

and death, if I had not *previously* resigned it from a sense of duty, as soon as England commenced hostilities against Naples.—I was now reproached with having made use of very intemperate and disrespectful language in animadverting upon the conduct of the French government towards me, as well as concerning the general proceedings of the French police. This accusation surprised me, as I was much at a loss to conceive to whom I could possibly have made these offensive remarks, having been confined *au secrét* from the first moment of my arrest, and some two or three words addressed to my gaoler having been the full extent of my conversation. The cause of this reproach, however, immediately occurred to me on my perceiving amongst some papers which were on the table the copy of the letter I had addressed to Lord Exmouth, and the letters I had so recently written to Sir C. Stuart and to Prince Metternich.—The former had been taken from me on my arrival in Paris, the two latter had been retained and opened by the police. As soon as I recognised my writing in these papers, I took them off the table for the purpose of perusing them—the police agent sprang forward to rescue them : a kind of momentary struggle ensued, and I replaced them on the table, a glance being sufficient to apprize me of the source from which the accusation of disrespectful expressions was derived ; I then told this member of the French police, that my letters had been addressed to my free-born country-

men, whose official duty it was to assert the rights of the defenceless and oppressed, and that if they had been intercepted, and submitted to the perusal of those who were unaccustomed to the language of truth and independent remonstrance the fault was not mine. The gentleman took my remarks very goodnaturedly, probably concurring in my sentiments, or making allowance for my situation. He, however, could not refrain from observing, that the system and policy through which I had been imprisoned and persecuted were evidently approved of by some of those *free-born Englishmen*, whom I had said were bound in duty to investigate my case. “*If it were not so,*” said he, “*why did Lord Exmouth refuse even to hear you, as from the letter which is now before me, I find he did, when you claimed his protection at Marseilles !!*”—After undergoing the formality of two or three interrogatories in the Conciergerie, I was transferred to the prison of the Abbaye, where I was likewise placed *au secrét*.

My friends at Paris were at a loss to know what had become of me, some thought me shipwrecked, others that I had been assassinated by the *loyal* inhabitants of the Bouches du Rhone, and in truth, it is probable that to this day they might have been ignorant of my fate, had I not fortunately found means to acquaint Sir Charles Stuart with my unhappy situation.

On my being established in my new abode, I

requested the gaoler to send to my apartments at the Hotel de Bourbon, and desire my servant, who I had left in Paris, to bring me a pair of slippers which were amongst my things at the hotel. The slippers were brought, but I was not allowed to see the bearer. My faithful and affectionate servant, overjoyed to find that I was still amongst the living, ran round to all my friends and acquaintances to inform them of his discovery. I had the good fortune to find in my room at the Abbaye, a piece of paper, with a pencil I wrote a short note to Sir Charles Stuart, and raising the inner sole of one of the slippers, I put the note under it, and replaced it smoothly. The next day I desired the gaoler to return the slippers to my servant, under the pretence that they were too small for me. The stratagem succeeded ; it occurred to my servant, who knew very well that the slippers were of the right size, to examine them, and he found the note, which he immediately delivered to Sir Charles Stuart.

The British ambassador had the kindness to make instantaneous application to the French government, in order to ascertain the cause of my imprisonment, the immediate effect of which interference was, to relieve me from the *solitary* part of my confinement. I was now allowed intercourse with the other prisoners, and to communicate with my servant ; but with the malicious view of prolonging my imprisonment as much as possible, the minister of police continued for three weeks to give to the repeated reclamations

of Sir Charles Stuart in my behalf, the most evasive and inconclusive answers, and even had recourse to an assertion, which *he knew to be false*, but which he thought would at least answer the purpose of delay. He assured Sir Charles Stuart, that I had no right to his protection, as I was not an Englishman but born at Rome. Sir Charles was so good as to send me copies of the minister's answers to him, which will be found in the Appendix.*

From the second letter of M. De Cazes to Sir Charles Stuart, of the 24th November, 1815, it will be seen that I was claimed by the Neapolitan ambassador in the name of the King of the Two Sicilies, but what was the precise motive for this intervention, I cannot determine.

During the latter part of my confinement, it was indirectly hinted to me, that the police expected information from me as the price of my liberty.—What might be the nature of the required information I was not told, except that it was suggested to me, I must be acquainted with the fact of large sums of money being deposited in Paris, which had belonged to King Joachim, and I was expected to direct the police in the seizure of them. To this I answered, I was totally ignorant of the existence of any such sums ; but at the same time I declared, that if I possessed the knowledge, I would set all their threats and torments at defiance, rather than

* See Appendix (H) and (I).

be accessory to an act of injustice and rapacity, by which the widow and children of King Joachim would be deprived of their lawful property.

In the mean time Sir Charles Stuart persisted in demanding my liberation, unless some crime could be laid to my charge ; and as the minister of police could not accuse me even of the slightest indiscretion, he was at length obliged to release me, but ordered me to quit Paris in twenty-four hours, at the same time informing me that he thought proper to keep possession of my papers, my carriage,* and of part of my arms.

Prince Metternich had now left Paris, so that I could neither solicit his protection, nor obtain the reimbursement of between seven and eight thousand francs which I had expended in executing the mission with which he had intrusted me.

During the short time allowed me for making preparations for my departure, I waited on Sir Charles Stuart, who was fully acquainted with my case. He allowed that I had been treated *in the most unjust and arbitrary manner*, but he strongly advised me not to remain any longer in Paris, lest, as he said, the French government, which had most unjustly taken me *en gripe*, should send

* As a pretext for keeping my carriage, which *was newly built in London*, the minister falsely asserted, that it had belonged to King Joachim. I could have produced at least ten witnesses to prove that I had received it in exchange for another from the Count de Beaufremont.

me to some distant place of confinement, from whence my complaints could never reach him. I also waited on the Duke of Wellington, but did not see him.

The day after my liberation, I received a note requesting my attendance on the minister of police. The following morning I waited upon him, and found him in company with his private secretary, M. Menars. After some preliminary conversation, he informed me in a very mild and affable tone, that *he had received accounts from Corsica and the south of France, which completely convinced him of the injustice of the charges brought against me, and that I was at liberty to remain at Paris as long as I chose.* I thought this a fair opportunity to learn the nature of these pretended charges, but I could gain no satisfaction on the subject.

During the previous conversation, M. Menars had asked me whether I had heard any thing particular at Lyons or in the south. I told him I had heard the Austrians were favouring the claims of the young Napoleon, and that I had understood this support had been the occasion of the late disturbances in that city. The minister and secretary now assumed an air of the greatest complacency and familiarity, and after a few words between themselves in a whisper, M. Menars continued to converse with me.

The minister seated himself at a desk in a small adjoining room, the door of which was open.

M. Menars asked me whether after the capitulation of Paris I had not been promised a conspicuous military appointment in the service. I answered in the affirmative, but observed that it was *unsolicited on my part*, and that I had abandoned every prospect, in order to execute Prince Metternich's mission.* “*Yes,*” said he, “*I am well acquainted with this circumstance, which does you honour*, and I have no doubt but we can get you an appointment immediately: in the mean time you must *make yourself useful*, you know we can never do too much for a government from which we expect favours. Pray do you know of any Frenchman being implicated in these intrigues at Lyons? Has Fouché any hand in them?” I assured him that I was totally unacquainted with the particulars of the transaction: he continued. “Indeed, Mr. Macirone, you might be very useful to us; you have many friends in Paris; you frequent some of the first circles. You have been too much persecuted by us to be suspected of being our friend; besides you are an Englishman, you can be well with all parties; you must frequent the Duke of Wellington's, Sir C. Stuart's; you have had intercourse with them both, ever since the capitulation of Paris. By the by, do you know

* It is to this appointment, which was *offered me*, that De Cazes maliciously alludes in his letter (I).

“ Sir Robert Wilson, and Lord Sligo, what are
“ they doing here? are they not of the opposition?
“ You may, I assure you, render us the greatest
“ services, and you will not have to accuse us of
“ ingratitude.”

I was so indignant at these proposals, that I scarcely knew how to conduct myself. I thought it necessary, however, to act with caution in the hope of gaining possession of my papers, amongst which was the bill for 40,000 francs, which had been given by King Joachim.

During this conversation, the minister, who was seated at his desk, but near enough to hear every word, appeared to be perusing some papers.—M. Menars now approached him, and they conversed together in a whisper for some minutes, he then returned to me, and resumed the conversation by a very singular question. “ What,” said he, “ do
“ you think of Prince Metternich?” I answered him, that his excellency, pointing to M. De Cazes, must certainly know more of him than I did.—That for my part I only know him as prime minister to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria. “ But,” said he, “ what do you think of his intimacy with Fouché?—They were very intimate
“ when the latter was minister of police, and I
“ believe they have still frequent communication.” I answered it had never appeared to me that the Duke of Otranto had been on better terms with Prince Metternich than with the Duke of

Wellington, Sir Charles Stuart, and Lord Castlereagh, who all frequented his house and table, and he theirs. "But," said M. Menars, "it would appear by the share which you had in the capitulation of Paris, that in many respects you enjoyed the confidence of Fouché, you must consequently be able to give us some information concerning his present connections." In this particular I assured him I was totally incapable of satisfying him. M. Menars again privately conversed with the minister, and then proceeded to question me concerning a most extraordinary occurrence, of which I have never been able to learn any thing further. He began by asking me whether I was at all acquainted with the circumstances of the death of Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel.* I answered I had heard he had not met his death by accident, as had been reported, but that I was ignorant by whose order he had been put to death,† or the cause of the order. On my appearing to be acquainted with the fact of Berthier's having been murdered, M. Menars expected that I should be

* It will be remembered that Berthier was said to have met his death by accidentally falling from a window in 1814, whilst viewing the passage of a body of Russian troops.

† I had learnt the simple fact of his having been *wilfully* put to death, from a personage of great power and celebrity in France, and who was undoubtedly the most likely person in the world, except those who committed the act, to be acquainted with all the particulars.

able to furnish him with the particulars of his death, with which he appeared to be quite unacquainted. With an air of the greatest seriousness he informed me, that about (as I think he said) October or November of the preceding year, *a great personage had died at Paris, under circumstances of the greatest mystery, privacy, and suspicion. That his death, &c. had been witnessed, and at that time had been known, only to two individuals.* He added that the DEATH OF THIS PERSONAGE AND THE MURDER OF BERTHIER WERE MOST PARTICULARLY CONNECTED, AND THAT ONE WAS THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE OTHER.* The minister then called M. Menars to him, who returning to me immediately said, "Can you give me any information concerning this affair? Since you seem to know that Berthier did not meet his death accidentally, you most probably know much more." I assured him it was with that circumstance alone I was acquainted, and that his account of the other mysterious death was perfectly new to me. M. Menars now earnestly recommended me to do my utmost to obtain information on the subject, assuring me that I should be amply remunerated for my services. I answered him in general terms, that I should be very happy to render any service in

* This appears to be a very extraordinary story. I give it in the words as nearly as I can recollect them, in which it was communicated to me by M. Menars.

my power to His Majesty the King of France: an answer which I gave to avoid directly breaking with him, in order if possible to gain time to settle my affairs in Paris, and recover my papers and bill.

I now took leave of the minister and M. Menars, who renewed his assurance that I had it in my power to render the government the most essential services, and I was requested to call on the minister in a day or two. It will not, I hope, be supposed that I felt any other sentiments than scorn and resentment at these overtures of the French minister to engage me as a spy. I had, however, received an *unequivocal acknowledgment of my innocence and of the injustice which had been done me by the French government*, and therefore I naturally expected at any rate to regain immediate possession of my property, which having obtained, and my affairs in Paris being settled, I proposed instantly to return to England, and await opportunity to vindicate the wrongs and insults I had experienced.

On my leaving the house of M. De Cazes I waited a second time on Sir Charles Stuart, to inform him of the permission which I had just received to remain in Paris during my pleasure. Sir Charles was, however, still of opinion that it would be prudent for me to quit France, as soon as possible, which I assured him was my intention, but that it would take me some days to settle my private affairs. I now felt very much at a loss how to conduct myself towards the French minister at my next

interview. What could I say to him? how avoid coming to an open declaration (before I had recovered my bill,) that I abhorred the despicable office with which he attempted to invest me? I therefore looked forward to it with feelings of great embarrassment.

The day after my interview with M. De Cazes I went to St. Cloud, where I remained three days. On the fourth I returned to Paris, and the next evening I received a note from M. Menars, in the name of the minister, requesting my attendance on the following morning. I waited upon the minister accordingly, who on my arrival had left the room, leaving M. Menars to inform me that I must positively quit Paris in twenty-four hours, and the French territory in ten days. Upon this unexpected declaration I asked what crime I had committed, since the minister had assured me I was entirely blameless, and might remain at Paris as long as I pleased? He answered me by declaring that M. De Cazes had no share in the adoption of this measure towards me. That it had been resolved upon by his *Majesty himself and by the council of ministers, of which the Duke de Richelieu was president!* M. Menars further informed me that the government had determined to keep possession of my papers, *with the bill for 40,000 francs*, but that my carriage would be restored to me.

I now waited again upon Sir C. Stuart, who advised me to leave France *without a moment's delay*, but kindly assured me that he would spee-

dily obtain my papers and bill from the French government.

I was thus obliged to quit Paris in the greatest haste, and my affairs being in confusion, I suffered considerable loss in addition to those I had before sustained. I arrived in England about the latter end of last December, and after waiting a month without receiving any communication from Sir C. Stuart respecting my property, I addressed a memorial to Lord Castlereagh, in which I entered into an explanation of my cruel case, praying that he would be pleased to obtain the restitution of my papers, and particularly of my bill, which the French government could not have the slightest ground for detaining. I moreover solicited the honour of a short interview with his lordship, when I should be able to explain myself more fully on any point which in my memorial, for the sake of brevity, I might not have sufficiently detailed. My memorial was delivered in January last, to Mr. Planta, who, as he assured me, duly consigned it to Lord Castlereagh; and from that period, I attended at the Foreign Office most unremittingly for *the space of six months without obtaining any answer from Lord Castlereagh**.

* During this period, I had several conversations with Mr. Hamilton, the under secretary of state at the Foreign Office, in one of which he took occasion to inform me, that he thought I had merited, by my interference in King Joachim's behalf, the treatment I had received from the French government, and he

At the end of January, I had the honour to receive a letter* from Sir C. Stuart, enclosing me a communication which he had received from M. De Cazes†; and in the month of March, Mr. Hamilton, at the intercession of a friend, promised to write to Sir C. Stuart, to solicit the renewal of his remonstrances with the French government in my favour. I continued, however, to haunt the waiting-room at the Foreign Office for *three months longer*, without any answer to my memorial, or any result, till at length some friends of mine happening to be at Paris, joined their solicitations to those of Mr. Clermont, of the house of Perrigaux, Lafitte, and Co. ; and on the 5th June, I received intelligence from the British ambassador, that the bill for 40,000 francs had been given up to him,‡ but *that all my other papers and documents were retained by the French government*.

The restoration of my bill was, however, attended with no benefit. The injustice of my enemies still triumphed, for at the time that I was informed of the recovery, I received an account of its having

made some other observations which I do not feel myself at liberty to repeat, as they related to the conduct and opinions of some distinguished persons in this country.—But Mr. Hamilton did not at any time give me to understand that he was authorized by Lord Castlereagh to make any communication to me on the subject of my memorial.

* See Appendix (K).

† See Appendix (L).

‡ See Appendix (M).

been presented and refused payment by Mr. Barrillon, the banker on whom it was drawn, for want of funds, the French *government having seized upon the sums with which he would have been enabled to pay the draft*: thus the malignant villainy of my persecutors was consummated, whilst they affected the semblance of a concession to the interference of the British ambassador.

I know the exposition of these details will not improve my fortunes; I have had too severe an experience that justice and power are not allied; but I flatter myself, that it will *transfer disgrace from the oppressed to the oppressors*, and engage an attention which may check a *repetition* of similar lawless outrages.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

Instructions from Lord William Bentinck, authorizing and directing the Proclamation of Italian Independence.

(Confidential.)

Messina, Nov. 29, 1813.

SIR,

YOU have been apprized by me of the nature of the expedition upon which the third Italians, and the detachment of the first Italians, are about to be employed under the orders of Lieut. Col. Catinelli. You will obey such orders as you receive from that officer.

I consider it necessary to repeat my verbal instructions of yesterday, that as soon as the troops are embarked, and are at sea, you will explain to the officers and men the object of the expedition. *The object is to raise on the western coast of Italy an Italian standard, around which may rally all those Italian patriots, both civil and military, who may be desirous of effecting the deliverance and independence of their country.* Noble and important to the future prosperity and greatness of Italy as is this undertaking, yet it cannot be concealed that the smallness of the force exposes it to considerable danger. I am anxious, therefore, that it should be attempted by volunteers only, and that all who are unwilling to make the effort may be left in the ships. You will shew this

instruction to Lieut.-Col. Catinelli, and to Sir Josias Rowley, commanding the maritime part of the expedition.

I have the honor to be, . . .

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

W. C. BENTINCK,

Lieut.-Gen.

Lieut.-Col. Ceravigna,
commanding Third Italian Levy.

(B.)

*Ordine del giorno di Sua Altezza reale Il Principe
Vicario Generale.*

BRAVI e fedeli miei soldati ; ecco giunto l'istante che andate a metter piede in Italia vostra comune patria, per cooperare coi vostri travagli alla grande opera della sua liberazione. La fedeltà da voi mostratami nel seguire costantemente la causa del Rè mio augusto padre, vostro legittimo sovrano, mi è una garanzia che non dimenticherete mai di riguardarlo per vostro unico sovrano a Ré, e che non avendo egli giammai rinunciato al suo regno di Napoli, riguarda sempre voi per suoi sudditi fedeli, siccome quale vostro amoroso padre, che sempre tale è stato il mio augusto genitore, vi riguarda come suoi amati figli ugualmente che riguarderò sempre i Napolitani vostri fratelli.

O bravi e fedeli miei soldati Siciliani ! che reunite i vostri sforzi a quelli de' vostri confratelli sotto i nostri stendardi ; pensate che colla vera liberazione della Italia, assicurerete la vostra libertà e la vostra esistenza politica, e vi renderete degni di quelle remunerazioni che

saranno proporzionate alla vostra fedeltà ed alla vostra bravura.

Palermo, 20 Feb°. 1814.

Per ordine di S. A. R. il Principe Vicario Generale.

(Firmato) RUGGIERO STETTIMO.

(Translation.)

*Order of the Day of His Royal Highness the Prince
Vicar General.**

MY brave and faithful Soldiers!—Behold the moment is arrived in which you are about to land in Italy, your common country, to co-operate by your labours in the great work of its delivery. The fidelity which you have evinced in constantly following the cause of the king, my august father and your legitimate sovereign, is to me a sufficient guarantee for your never forgetting to consider him as your only king and sovereign, *whilst he, having never renounced his rights to his kingdom of Naples*, will ever regard you as his faithful subjects with the feelings of a tender parent, for such my august father has ever been towards you. He considers you as his beloved sons, in like manner *as I shall constantly regard the Neapolitans as your brethren.*

My brave and faithful Sicilian soldiers! combine your efforts to those of your brethren united under our standards; remember, that, together with the real liberation of Italy, you will assure your own liberty and political existence, and you will render yourselves worthy of such remuneration as shall bear a just proportion to your fidelity and courage.

Palermo, Feb. 20, 1814.

By order of H. R. H. the Prince Vicar General.

(Signed) RUGGIERO SETTIMO.

* Eldest son of King Ferdinand of Sicily.

(C.)

Proclamation of Lord William Bentinck to the Italians.

(Translated from the Italian.)

Italians,

Great Britain has landed her troops on your shores, she comes to deliver you from the iron yoke of Bonaparte.

Portugal, Spain, Sicily, Holland, bear testimony to the liberal and disinterested principles which animate that power.

Spain, by her resolution, by her valour, and by the efforts of her great ally, has succeeded in her sublime enterprise. The French are expelled from her territory. Her independence is secured, her civil liberty established.

Sicily, protected by the same power, has saved herself from the universal deluge; she has suffered nothing. Through the beneficent character of her prince, she has passed from slavery to liberty, and she hastens to revive her ancient splendor among independent nations.

Holland rushes forward with the same intent.

Will Italy alone remain under the yoke? Shall Italians only combat against Italians, in favour of a tyrant, and for the bondage of their country? Italians! hesitate no longer; *be Italians*: and thou, army of Italy, know that the great cause of thy country is in thine own hands. Warriors of Italy, we do not require you to unite yourselves to us; we ask of you to *maintain your own rights, and that you be free.*

Invite us, and we fly to join you; under our united forces, then will *Italy be again what, in her better times, she was, and what Spain is now become.!!!*

(Signed) W. BENTINCK,

Commander in Chief of the British Forces.

Leghorn, 14th March, 1814.

(D.)

Official Note of Lord Wm. Bentinck, transmitted to the King of Naples.

(Translation from the French.)

Bologna, April 1, 1814.

IN case the Neapolitan government should require a confirmation in writing of the sentiments, that Lord Castlereagh has already verbally announced, confirmation that has not been demanded, it not being judged necessary, *the undersigned is authorised, officially, to declare—*

That the English government entirely approves of the treaty concluded between the Austrian government and the government of Naples; and that it consents to the addition of territory there specified, under the same conditions made by Austria, of an active and immediate co-operation of the Neapolitan army; and that if the English government refuses to sign a treaty in limine, it arises purely from motives of delicacy, and honour, which cannot agree to the sacrifice of the hereditary states of an ally, without an indemnity; and the undersigned has orders in consequence, in virtue of which, he invites the Neapolitan government to make the greatest efforts for the same object.†*

* The Marches of Ancona.

† Lord Castlereagh had added in his instructions to Lord William Bentinck, *that the British government would ratify the treaty with Joachim King of Naples, even though Ferdinand of Sicily should refuse the indemnity projected.* The Duke di Campochiaro, Neapolitan plenipotentiary at Congress, had received from Lord Castlereagh a copy of these instructions, which he had transmitted to King Joachim. The omission of this original additional paragraph, appeared to Joachim, either as a change of original intention and stipulation, or as a symptom of hostile feeling on the part of Lord William Bentinck, and therefore augmented his jealousies. The general tone of the memorandum was not indeed calculated to inspire confidence in the profes-

Such are the sentiments of the British government. It would be contrary to frankness of character in the undersigned, were he not to express his own opinion, that the hopes which gave birth to the treaty, have been unfortunately, too falsified. The principal object, for which the alliance was formed, and sacrifices made, the ready, and active co-operation of the Neapolitan army, has not been obtained. The Austrian army is still paralyzed on the Adige, whereas by the march of the Neapolitan army to the Upper Po, it would, long ago, have reached the Alps; negotiations, under the most suspicious circumstances, have been carried on with the enemy; and at the same time, the co-operation of the British army, which the Neapolitan government, if sincere, ought to wish for, more than any other of the allies, is rendered impossible, by the refusal made to it, of means for its safety and subsistence.

If such be the military line of conduct, its political conduct is not less inexplicable. The Neapolitan government engages its consent to all the arrangements of the allies in Italy, it begins by declaring that the different states should be immediately restored to their legitimate sovereigns; but, soon after, it declares officially, that these states shall be kept till the peace, and at the same time, an organized administration of these countries presents itself every where under the form of a permanent occupation; the agents and Neapolitan newspapers,

sions of a conciliatory disposition, especially as the king denied the allegations, and had the power, as he conceived, of recriminating against the proceedings of the allies, as has been shewn; but in justice, it must be stated, that the king had the highest confidence in the personal honour and integrity of Lord Wm. Bentinck, although he thought he preferred the interests of Ferdinand of Sicily; and to evince his respect for him, he sent him a costly diamond hilted sword, after the capture of Genoa, which was deemed worthy a transfer to H. R. H. the Prince Regent, as the king afterwards learnt, and which flattered him much.

discover views of ambition and aggrandizement, entirely contrary to the intentions of the allies ; and which would not be free from objection, if even in this addition of power it shewed a loyal tendency, but which is certainly dangerous, when it is not yet known on which side this power ranges itself.

The undersigned is very far from presenting these remarks in a reproachful or hostile view, they are dictated by a friendly mind, and from a desire to see the intentions of the allies realized. The war still continues, and it is yet time to remove the doubts and discontent that may exist.

It is thus that the undersigned seriously recommends to the Neapolitan government, to effectuate an immediate and cordial co-operation with the Austrian forces, to furnish by a sacrifice of a portion of Tuscany to the British expedition, the means which are indispensably necessary for its co-operation, and which is due to the dignity of the British government ; if it can be called a sacrifice, the cession of a country that belongs to another, it will be highly compensated by a mutual assistance and confidence.

A renunciation of all tendency to a separate policy, and above all to replace, without delay, the sovereign Pontiff on his see. The cruel treatment that this venerable personage has suffered, exalted by his edifying virtues, and his extraordinary firmness, have excited, as we have just seen, the greatest enthusiasm. If the conduct of him, who now governs France, in this respect, has caused, more than any other act of his life, the hatred of the world entire, it would be a very bad policy to oppose a measure acknowledged to be of the greatest consequence by all those who wished to see established, the grand basis of social order, religion and morality.

The undersigned has the honour to reiterate the sentiments of the highest consideration.

(Signed)

LORD WM. BENTINCK.

(E.)

MONSIEUR MACIRONE est autorisé par les presentes à prévenir le Roi Joachim que sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche lui accordera un asile dans ses états sous les conditions suivantes.

1. Le Roi prendra un nom de particulier. La Reine ayant pris celui de Comtesse de Lipona ; ou le propose également au Roi.

2. Il sera libre au Roi de choisir une ville de la Bohême, de la Moravie ou de la haute Autriche pour y fixer son séjour. S'il devait vouloir se fixer à la campagne cela ne souffrirait point de difficultés dans ces mêmes provinces.

3. Le Roi engagera sa parole vis-a-vis de Sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale, qu'il ne quittera pas les états Autrichiens sans le consentement exprès de sa dite Majesté, et qu'il vivra dans l'attitude d'un particulier de marque, mais soumis aux loix en vigueur dans les états Autrichiens.

En foi de quoi et pour qu'il en soit fait l'usage convenable, le soussigné a eu l'ordre de l'Empereur de signer la presente declaration.

Donné a Paris, le 1er Septembre, 1815.

SIGNE LE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.

(F.)

Ajaccio, 28th Sept. 1815.

MONSIEUR MACIRONE, Envoyé des Puissances Alliées auprès du Roi Joachim. Je viens de prendre connoissances des pieces dont vous êtes porteur. J'accepte le passeport que vous êtes chargé de me remettre ; et je compte m'en servir pour me rendre à la destination qui y est fixée. Quant aux conditions que Sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale impose à l'offre d'un asile en Autriche,

je me réserve de traiter cet article important à l'époque ou je serai reuni à ma famille.

La sommation peux mesurée qui m'a été adressée par M. le Capitaine de la Fregate de Sa Majesté Britannique, m'empêche d'accepter l'offre que vous me faites en son nom de me recevoir à son bord.

Persecuté, menacé même en Corse parceque on avoit pu me supposer des vues sur cette Isle, J'avois déjà préparé mes moyens de départ. En effet je pars cette nuit. J'accepte avec plaisir les valets de chambre que vous vouléz bien me céder.

Sur ce M. Macirone, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait dans sa Sainte et digne garde.

(Signé à l'original) JOACHIM.

Pour Copie conforme, F. MACIRONE.

(G.)

Ajaccio, 28th Sept. 1815.

MONSIEUR MACIRONE, Envoyé des Puissances Alliées auprès du Roi Joachim. Ma premiere lettre d'aujourd'hui à été dictée par les circonstances du moment. Maintenant je le dois à moi même, à la verité, et à votre noble franchise et bonne foi de vous instruire de mes veritables intentions.

J'apprecie ma liberté audessus de tout autre bien. La captivité n'a pour moi d'autre synonyme que la mort. Quel traitement puis-je attendre des mains de ces puissances qui m'ont laissé pendant deux mois sous les poignards des assassins de Marseille! J'ai sauvé la vie au Marquis de Riviere. Il étoit condamné à perir sur l'échafaud; j'ai obtenu sa grace de l'Empereur. Execra-

ble vérité ! il excitoit secrètement ces misérables, c'est lui qui mettoit ma tête à prix !! Errant dans les bois, caché dans les Montagnes, je ne dois la vie qu'à la généreuse compassion que mes malheurs ont excité dans l'ame de trois officiers Français : ils m'ont transporté en Corse au plus grand peril de leur jours.

Des misérables prétendent que j'ai emporté de Naples de grands trésors ; ne savent-ils pas que lorsque j'ai reçu ce Royaume en échange pour mon Grand Duché de Berg, que je possédois d'après un traité solennel, j'y ai apporté des richesses immenses ?—Tout a été dépensé pour le bien de mon Royaume de Naples !—Le Souverain qui depuis est venu l'occuper l'a-t-il reconnu ce pays ? Je n'ai plus de quoi vivre moi et ma famille.

Je n'accepterois point, Monsieur Macirone, les conditions que vous êtes chargé de m'offrir. Je n'y vois qu'une abdication pure et simple sous la seule condition *qu'on me permettra de vivre*, mais dans une éternelle captivité soumis à l'action arbitraire des lois sous un gouvernement despotique. Ou est ici la moderation, la justice ! y voit-on les égards dûs à un monarque malheureux qui a été formellement reconnu par toute l'Europe, et qui dans un moment bien critique a décidé la campagne de 1814 en faveur de ces mêmes Puissances qui maintenant contre leurs propres interets l'accablent du poids excessif de leur persecutions ?

C'est une vérité bien reconnue que je n'ai repoussé les Autrichiens jusqu'au Pô que parceque à force d'intrigues on étoit parvenu à me persuader qu'ils se preparent à m'attaquer, sans cependant la concurrence de l'Angleterre. J'ai jugé nécessaire d'avancer ma ligne de defence et de gagner les peuples de mon côté.

Personne ne sait mieux que vous M. Macirone, ainsi que le Lord Bentinck lui même, que je ne fis ce fatal mouvement de retraite que sur la déclaration de ce général qu'il se trouveroit dans le devoir de prêter son secours aux Autrichiens, puisqu'ils le lui avoient réclamé.

Vous connoisséz les causes qui ont occasionée le désordre, et la desertion dans ma belle armée. Les faux bruits artistement rependus de ma mort ; du débarquement des Anglais à Naples ; la conduite du Général Pignatelli Strongoli ; enfin la trahison de certains de mes officiers qui ont reussi avec un art perfide, à augmenter par leur exemple, et par leur discours, le decouragement et la désertion.

Il n'existe point à cette heure un individu de cette armée qui n'ait reconnu son erreur. Je pars pour les rejoindre. Ils brulent du desir de me revoir à leur tête. Ils m'ont conservé toutes leurs affections de même que chaque classe de mes biens aimés sujets. Je n'ai point abdiqué. J'ai le droit de reprendre ma couronne si Dieu m'en donne la force et les moyens. Ma presence sur le trone de Naples ne sauroit être maintenant un sujet de crainte ; on ne peut plus me pretextir des liasons avec Napoléon qui est à St. Hélène ; bien au contraire, et l'Angleterre, et l'Autriche pourront en tirer des avantages qu'ils attenderoient en vain du Souverain qu'ils ont voulu mettre à ma place.

Je m'abandonne à ces details, Monsieur Macirone, puisque c'est à vous que j'écris. Vos procedés envers moi, votre reputation, et votre nom, vous donnent des droits à ma franchise et à mon estime.

Vous ne sauriez mettre aucun obstacle à mon depart, quand même vous en auriez l'envie.

Lorsqu'on vous remettra cette lettre j'aurai déjà fait bon chemin vers ma destination. Ou je reusserai, ou je terminerai mes malheurs avec ma vie. J'ai bravé mille et mille fois la mort en combattant pour ma patrie ; ne me seroit-il pas permis de la dompter une fois pour nous même ! Je fremis seulement pour le sort de ma famille.

Je me souviendrai toujours avec plaisir de la maniere noble et delicate dont vous vous êtes acquitté de votre mission auprès de moi. Elle contraste agreablement avec les procedés gratuitement grossiers et révoltans de

plusieurs autres personnes à mon égard, n'ayant ni les mêmes pouvoirs, ni la même considération dont vous jouisséz.

J'ai donné ordre pour que vos pieces vous soient rendues. Sur ce M. Macirone je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait dans sa Sainte et digne garde.

(Signé à l'originale) JOACHIM.
Pour Copie conforme, F. MACIRONE.

(H.)

(Copy.)

Paris, 24 Novembre, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER, J'ai reçu la lettre que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 21 de ce mois au sujet du M. Macirone.

L'affaire de ce prisonnier s'instruit avec activité; et l'interet que Votre Excellence veut bien lui accorder sera pour moi un nouveau motif d'en hâter la conclusion. Je m'empresserai de lui faire connaître la décision que pourra intervenir. Les renseignemens qu'il a fallu prendre encore, et la nature de la mission dans la quelle figure comme principal Agent M. Maceroni, expliquera les retards qui, jusques à ce jour ont empêché cette décision d'avoir lieu.

Agréez Mons. Le Chevalier, &c.

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat,

Au Département de la Police Generale,

(Signé) DE CAZES.

Mons. Le Chev. Stuart.

P. S. Si ce M. Macirone n'avait fait que se rendre porteur de Dépêches du Prince Metternich assurément aucun reproche ne lui seroit adressé; mais cette espèce de mission

paraît en avoir concert avec autres sur les quels le Gouvernement a le droit d'exiger de lui des explications* qu'il ne peut refuser s'il est vrai comme il le pretend qu'il est de bonne foi ce qui est loin de ma pensée.

(Signè) DE CAZES.

(Translation.)

Paris, November 24, 1815.

SIR, I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me the 21st inst. concerning Mr. Macirone.

The affair of this prisoner is proceeding with activity; and the interest which your Excellency takes in it, is to me a fresh inducement to hasten its conclusion. I shall immediately apprise your Excellency of the decision which may be given. The further information which it has been necessary to collect, and the nature of the mission in which Mr. Macirone figures as the principal agent, will explain the delays which have, until now, prevented the decision from taking place.

I have the honour to be, &c.

The Minister Secretary of State

For the Department of General Police,

(Signed) DE CAZES.

His Excellency Sir Charles Stuart.

P. S. If Mr. Macirone had merely made himself the bearer of the dispatches of Prince Metternich, no reproach could certainly be attached to him: but this kind of mission appears to have been undertaken in conjunction with others, in regard to which the Government has a right to exact explanations from him which he cannot refuse to give,* if it be really true, as he declares, that he acts with good faith, an opinion I am far from entertaining.

(Signed) DE CAZES.

* I answered every question that was put to me in the most candid manner, although my treatment justified every opposition on my part.

(I.)

(Copy.)

Paris, 24 Novembre, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER,

JE crois devoir ajouter à la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser aujourd'hui même à Votre Excellence, concernant le M. Macirone que le Consul de S. M. le Roi des deux Siciles à Toulon, avoit dès le 3 de ce mois réclamé cet Officier, au nom de son Gouvernement et qu'il a prévenu de cette démarche Mons. l'Ambassadeur Napolitain à Paris. J'ignore encore quel peut être l'objet précis de cette intervention.

Les renseignemens que j'ai en occasion de recueillir m'apprenant que le M. Macirone est né à Rome et que sa qualité est si peu éclaircie que dernièrement encore il réclamoit du service en France. J'ai lieu de croire que ces explications ne seront pas sans influence sur l'intérêt que Votre Excellence témoigne prendre en sa faveur.

Agréez Mons. Le Chevalier, &c.

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat,

Au Département de la Police Generale,

(Signed) DE CAZES.

Mons. Le Chev. Stuart,

(Translation.)

Paris, 24th November, 1815.

SIR,

I CONSIDER it my duty to add to the letter which I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency this day concerning M. Macirone, that the Consul of H. M. the King of the Two Sicilies, at Toulon, had claimed this officer in the name of his Government, since the 3d of this month, and that he has informed the Neapolitan Ambassador at Paris of this step. I am, as yet, igno-

rant of what may be the precise object of this intervention.

The information which I have had the means of collecting, instructs me that Mr. Macirone was born at Rome, and that his character is so far from being defined, that even recently he applied for an employment in the French service. I have reason to presume, that these explanations will not be without their influence on the interest which your Excellency manifests in his favour.

I have the honour, &c.

The Secretary of State

For the Department of General Police,

(Signed) DE CAZES.

His Excellency Sir Charles Stuart.

(K.)

Paris, 22d Jan. 1816.

SIR,

IN answer to the letter you have been pleased to address me, I think it necessary to send you the accompanying communication which I have received from the minister of the police.*

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CHARLES STUART.

F. Macirone, Esq.

* Letter (L.)

(L.)

Paris le, 8th Janvier, 1816.

Monsieur le Chevalier,

J'ai reçu la lettre que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date du 4 court renfermant copie de celle que lui adresse Mons. Clarmont au nom de M. Macirone, et dans la quelle il réclame des effets retenus à mon Ministère lors de sa mise en liberté.

Les motifs qui ont fait suspendre la remise de ces effets tiennent à quelques doutes dont l'objet est sur le point d'être bientôt éclaircies. Je ne pense pas que rien s'oppose à ce que cette réclamation obtienne un effet entout conforme au desir que vous manifestez. Votre Excellence peut compter que je donnerai à cet objet l'attention qu'elle réclame et il me sera agreable en la satisfaisant à cet égard de lui témoigner combien j'attache de pris à faire quelque chose que lui soit agréable.

Je prie votre Excellence d'agréer, &c.

(Signed) DE CAZES,

M. Le Chevalier Stuart.

(Translation.)

Paris, Jan. 8, 1816.

SIR,

I HAVE received the letter which your Excellency has done me the honour to write me on the 4th of this month, inclosing a copy of the one which has been addressed to your Excellency by Mr. Clermont in the name of Mr. Macirone, and by which he reclaims certain effects retained by me at the time of his liberation.

The motives which have caused the delivery of these effects to be suspended, are connected with certain doubts, the subject of which is on the point of being speedily cleared up. I do not think but that this recla-

mation will have a result perfectly conformable to the desires which you manifest. Your Excellency may depend upon my devoting to this affair all the attention which it requires: and it will be most agreeable to me, by satisfying your Excellency on this head, to evince how highly I appreciate the opportunity of doing any thing which may be agreeable to your Excellency.

I pray your Excellency to believe me,

&c. &c.

(Signed)

DE CAZES.

His Excellency Sir C. Stuart.

(M.)

Paris, May 29, 1816.

SIR,

IN answer to the several letters you have been pleased to address me, I am to acquaint you that the bill for forty thousand francs signed by Joachim Murat, and seized among your papers by the police has been restored to me. I have delivered this effect to Mr. Clermont, of the house of Perrigaux, Lafitte, and Co. together with the copy of a letter from M. De Cazes, of which Mr. Clermont acknowledges the receipt in the accompanying communication.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

C. STUART.

Mr. F. Macirone.

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POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

AFFAIRS

OF

FRANCE AND ITALY

During the Years 1814, 1815 and 1816.

BY A GENTLEMAN

ATTACHED TO KING JOACHIM ;

AND WHO REMAINED WITH THIS PRINCE FROM THE
MONTH OF DECEMBER 1814, TO THE COMMENCE-
MENT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST AUSTRIA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY

T. PARKIN, EDITOR OF "THE PHILANTHROPIST."

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P R E F A C E.

IT is not from hostility to existing governments, that I commit these fragments to history. God forbid that a project, not less absurd than culpable, should present itself to my mind! My object, in calling to recollection facts which, although placed by the lapse of time, at some distance from us, will be collected by posterity, is to deduce from them great and useful truths. Every thing demonstrates that the period is arrived when Kings and the People must make mutual concessions; by which only will the latter be able to defend themselves against a military despotism, more alarming than that by which Europe, even under Buonaparte, was menaced; and the former avert revolutions, of which the danger is equally imminent, and against which immense armies will form but a feeble barrier. These concessions

must result from principles founded on the nature of things, or from the extraordinary circumstances of the actual state of Europe, the importance of which it appertains exclusively to Cabinets to appreciate.

In regard to the principles, (some of which are defined, and among these I assign to the hereditary succession to the throne the first rank) which may preserve every thing: who ever rejects them can only be considered as a madman, or the enemy of social order: there are others, abstract, unintelligible, and incapable of being defined—at which reason revolts, and experience proves to be false—that it is unnecessary to combat: to discuss them, would be to destroy their essence. Moreover, whatever reception may be given to the opinions avowed in this work by the parties into which the body politic is at present divided: and, in the supposition that a coalition should be formed against the liberties and the independance of the people, as formidable as some persons would cause it to be apprehended—a supposition, I maintain, impossible to be admitted, because opposed to the noble intentions of the Allied sovereigns, so unequivocally promulgated—I venture to exercise sufficient confidence in myself to be assured, that I shall never be ensnared by the seduction of despotism, on the one hand, or of anarchy, on the other: or be intimidated by the menaces of either. Of this, I have not ceased, during the last six and twenty years, to give honourable proof. Should any men, deluded or criminal, deduce from my theories

the countenance of projects, or even an apology for them, directed against that political order which is now established in Europe; I at once declare them incapable of such an interpretation, which stands opposed to the noble end—the peace of Europe and of the world—at which all the efforts of the high Allied powers appear to unite in aiming: Under no circumstances can the language of sedition and of threat promote the interests of a just cause; and if Princes ought never to forget that the press, in communicating knowledge to the people, has rendered a return to feudal doctrines, and to the errors of the middle ages, utterly impossible—the people, on their part, ought likewise not to forget, that the only use of the liberty of the press, which reason, justice, and their own interest could dictate, is, in the broad day light of experience, to enlighten governments—that it is unworthy this noble conquest of the human mind, to have recourse to means, in order to uphold the independence and the liberties of nations, which would exclude honor in the transactions of private life. But to attack with firmness, yet with all the respect to which governments are entitled, principles adopted by some of them, and which appear to be subversive of rational liberty, is unquestionably both the interest and the duty of all citizens; whereas, to combat them by treason or violence, is, in fact, to attack, in its most sacred basis, social order itself, and to place the assailant beyond the limits of its protection. Where there are men, there will be passions and

errors; and can governments, then, who raise themselves on the ruin of those whom they have overthrown, be exempt from them? Historians! whom the powers of your mind, and the superiority of your talents, call to the sublime functions of your office, enlighten, instruct men, in order to render them better and more happy; follow with perseverance your noble career; cease not to convey useful and bold truths to the ears of those to whom fate, too generally blind, has committed the destinies of the people; but let this be done, without defying that valuable protection, in the absence of which disorder and confusion only would pervade civilized society. When you shall have discharged these duties, leave calumny to break loose round about you. You must, doubtless, not expect to escape her; she will perhaps pursue you even into the sanctuary of authority; but you have nothing to dread from her feeble efforts; your conscience and the esteem of good men will have placed you on an eminence above her power to reach.

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

AFFAIRS

OF

FRANCE AND ITALY.



THE publicity which I give to the continuation of my memoirs, is, in my estimation, the most noble tribute which it is possible to pay to the greatness of mind—to the elevation of ideas—to the generous sentiments by which the allied Powers have not ceased to be animated in the grand struggle which they have sustained, and in which they have triumphed for the

independence of Europe. To say the truth—to speak it without reserve, on some events of which we have been the witnesses; on which so much diversity of opinion prevails; and in which so many opposite interests are involved—to maintain, because they are thought to be correct, opinions which have been proscribed, and that are loaded with general disgrace; would be a difficult, not to say a dangerous or impracticable undertaking, if I did not consider myself protected by the highly liberal sentiments of the allied sovereigns and by the experience of all the generous minds of the present day—friends of that wise liberty which, in an enlightened age, is not less friendly to the protecting prerogatives of Princes, than to the just rights of the people.

Persuaded, as I have ever been, from the moment I commenced these memoirs, of the impossibility of writing the history of contemporary events with all the impartiality which such a work requires; or, which is exactly the same thing, of the difficulty which an author experiences in obtaining credit for impartiality—I adopt no other method for the continuation of these memoirs than that fixed on for the two former series. Without concealing the errors of those, to whose memory I have vowed eternal gratitude, or who have escaped the scourge of war and that of the scaffold, I shall have, since duty is sometimes called by this name, the courage to defend them; and if I might judge of the success of my efforts from the re-

ception given by the public to the work of which this is the sequel, I have the assurance of being heard. It is not materials only that I have collected, but faithful materials, and in which entire confidence may one day be placed, by political writers, who, strangers equally to our discussions, and to our passions, as well as to our affections, will write the history of these important epochs, signalised by so much glory, and by so many errors and misfortunes.

The three years, the memoirs of which I submit to the public, present a mass of events so frightful, both in regard to importance and number, that I find myself compelled to speak only incidentally of those in which I personally took no part, or which would afford the reader but a slight degree of interest only. Moreover, it should never be lost sight of, that I write not a history, but, as I have previously announced, a report which I make to myself; and that to this title I do not consider myself bound by any other obligation than that of being true and interesting.

On leaving Italy, where I was destined shortly to return, some disastrous presentiments announced to me that the career of my misfortunes was not yet finished; indeed how was it possible not to anticipate fresh ones on the recal of the house of Bourbon—replaced on the throne of France, under the protection

of thunder which exterminated its defenders ! I must nevertheless avow, that in the midst of so many disasters, my predominant feeling was that of an unconquerable hatred to the author of them ; and, within a short time, this hatred diminished, but without dissipating the fears with which the restoration of the house of Bourbon had filled me. I shall not here retrace what took place at Paris at that period ; I was not a witness of it ; and of this part of our history no one is ignorant. I shall not enquire into the extent to which the wishes of the nation were consulted ; still less whether the good faith of the sovereigns, since one of the most powerful of those princes, distinguished by the elevation of his sentiments, and his respect for the rights of nations, so openly declared his unqualified desire to leave to the French nation the choice of their future ruler, had not been compromised by base intrigues : questions which will all will be determined by facts, and which form no part of the design of this work. It is not by exciting the passions that light is communicated. Whatever my private opinions might have been, under circumstances of such high interest, I easily perceived, that if when the destinies of France were agitated in the councils of the allied Monarchs, it were the duty of a good citizen to express his thoughts, with all the independence of a free man, a noble resignation was imposed on him, from the moment when that great event, which fixed those destinies, should be consummated.

I arrived at Paris on the 17th May 1814. The appearance which the capital exhibited cannot be described ; the allies had occupied it six weeks ; from the movement of the troops assembled under its walls from all parts of Europe—from the variety of military costumes, amongst which not one French uniform was to be seen—from the prodigious activity which every where prevailed—one would have been led to believe that the assault had scarcely been finished. This spectacle, of which Turin and some towns in France, through which I passed, had already given me a feeble idea, and which the aspect of Paris, presented to my view, in all its frightful confusion, created in me the most painful reflections. The Theatres, the Coffee Houses, the public walks, the places of amusement of every description, exhibited only a vast arena, in which the triumphant party, although immensely inferior in number, but supported by actual power and foreign bayonets, resounded with provocations, not less fanatical than imprudent. Aside from this faction, public opinions subdivided themselves without limit ; and notwithstanding the misfortune of the times had for a short time re-united them—*Constitutionalists* of 91 ; *Moderates* of 92—short-sighted *Republicans* of 93—all victims of their own doctrines, even to those hideous revolutionists of 94, (repulsed by the opinions of all) believing themselves equally menaced, and in the impossibility of making themselves heard, observed a profound silence, and consequently became the more

outrageous. Inexperience, presumption, the want of judgement and of foresight in the acts of the first ministry, very shortly developed what was to be expected from the new order of things, in respect to which, I was not for a moment deceived : I perceived that I had nothing to hope from it myself ; that the appointments in the Court, in the army, in the police, in the administration, were about to be exclusively divided amongst the emigrants of 89, and their partisans in the interior ; that it was to both parties an object less desirable to replace the King on the throne of France than on that of Coblenz ; that the proscription would shortly become general, and extend itself to every one who should venture to call himself French ; that the known character of the King, the wisdom, the moderation of his principles, would be but an inefficient barrier against the torrent which threatened general destruction ; in one word, that to remain unnoticed was the only hope of preservation. The line of conduct which I then considered it my duty to observe, has subjected me to reproach ; but those who, three years ago, thus reproached me, ought to acknowledge, that on them only could a want of foresight, at that epoch, be chargeable. It will be necessary to repeat this observation, when I shall explain the motives which induced me to return a negative reply, in 1816, to the benevolent proposition of the Duke de Rohan, who invited me to lay, in person, at the feet of the King, the two first parts of my memoirs. I was aware of the entire inutility, of all the danger consequent on this step—il-

timed, perhaps, in many points of view. Nevertheless, if the high mind of the King had been that of his Court, I should most probably have acceded to the proposition of the Duke de Rohan, and have attached the greatest value to this august suffrage; but in the midst of passions, which at that time predominated, and of which the power is since become so formidable, that at the very time of writing these memoirs, they threaten more boldly than ever to invade the future—it will be readily admitted that it would have been more than imprudent to brave those resentments, and again to excite the attention of those who, a long time since, considering me in enmity*, had not failed to suppose that I had pretensions, to which they thought themselves exclusively entitled.

My return to Paris succeeded that of MONSIEUR a

* I consider it proper here to explain in what sense I understand this word. I never use it but in reference to Politics; it regards systems and not individuals. The same licence to which I lay claim myself, I yield cheerfully unto my political antagonists. In politics, there is no such thing as rational hatred.

I am too well aware that my system is destroyed by experience; but it is impossible, in reference to what regards myself at least, to adopt other ideas. I admit, that in controversy argument is used as a weapon, and that even in some circumstances, always to be deplored, each party employs, to ensure itself the Victory, more solid weapons; these are evils inseparable from times of discord and revolution; but the combat finished, ought not the parties to pity and to esteem each other?

few days only. Scarcely had this Prince made his entry into the capital, than the enthusiasm, by which it was accompanied, had become extinct. Can this create surprise? By this time the inconceivable levity with which this weak Prince came to sacrifice the glory and the interests of France, was apparent to every body. It moreover seemed that, if the excess of pride and folly, had presided over the last political and military combinations of Buonaparte, the recollection of so many errors and misfortunes had already been effaced; and that nothing was remembered but the odious treason of some persons, in whom it should be thought he had placed his entire confidence but to enable them the more effectually to accelerate his ruin—of those only amongst the French, who could not have been expected to oppose themselves to a Power, the exclusive protection of which they had enjoyed, and whose insupportable weight had overwhelmed France and Europe. In the midst of so many different feelings, opposite interests, fears and hopes, all eyes were fixed on him, who, as yet, alone represented the King, and whose first measures would either restore or destroy the confidence of a nation, so frequently abused.—But it was soon discovered what political opinions were on the point of gaining the ascendancy. Authors, Journalists, and the Party-Saloons, enjoying the exclusive support, protection, and favour of the Princes, already expressed themselves with no less imprudence than contempt, on the ideas to which,

in this storm, alike terrible and unexpected, all wise men, (looking forward to the future with no less horror than to the past), endeavoured to rally themselves. That, without doubt, will never be believed, which some men of the Revolution, honourable, but timid, even to weakness, have of themselves at this time difficulty in believing—that the terror of the return of Buonaparte had created in them so much alarm, and so much blindness, as to cause those to whom former events ought to have rendered the recall of the Bourbons more formidable, to vote, in the expiring Senate, for the restoration of this House, on the express condition that the phantom of a Constitution, drawn up in as much haste as that of 1793, and which has experienced the same fate, should be accepted. The designation of a *Recall*, so strangely given by the friends of the Bourbons, and by their Journals; and the unlooked-for appearance of this family in the midst of the French people, cannot be viewed, where the actual state of things is known, but as the severest irony, and the most extraordinary derision. The truth is, and all Europe has repeated it before me, that at this period not one of the high Allied Powers, with the exception of England, (whose politics were essentially served by placing, through means of the re-establishment of the Bourbons, the sceptre of France in her hands), had not attained, by this great event, the object and the result of the war : this, very shortly afterwards, was easily discovered. The conduct and

the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander were unknown to no one. This Monarch, too philosophical, too great, too much the friend of the people to imagine that the right was vested in any families, however highly favoured by fortune, to make them, like flocks of sheep, the object of a disgraceful traffic, aimed at collecting around him all enlightened men : he who came to destroy slavery in States, the natural friends and allies of France, convened them from all parts round about his throne. By the greatest of misfortunes, intrigue, personal interest, and resentments, interposed themselves between them and him, and it became no longer possible to convey truth to a Prince, who had shewn himself so worthy of hearing it—and France was sacrificed ! A man, to whom the imprudent Buonaparte had left no alternative but banishment, or the Bourbons—a man better known by the brilliant talents of his mind, than by the qualities of his heart, succeeded in acquiring the confidence of the Emperor Alexander, at whose Hotel this Prince had just fixed his residence. In the midst of the general effervescence of the public mind, it was not difficult for him, who then presided over the Provisional Government, and disposed, at his pleasure, of an inflated and triumphant minority, to attribute to a few shouts and demonstrations of joy, the appearance of that national wish, the free expression of which, the profound wisdom of the Allied Sovereigns had invited, before deciding on the destinies of France.

Whoever, for the last six and twenty years, has been a witness of the horrible scenes which covered, and which seem yet almost to cover the French soil with prisons, with tribunals, and with scaffolds, could no longer mistake the means—the shout of a pretended national cry—by which the factions assured themselves of triumph. It is from the ever-to-be lamented period of 1793, that the new revolutionists borrowed its tactics and its arms. When Alexander traversed Paris, in order to collect the real wish of the nation, which he had resolved on making the only guide of his conduct, a few hundreds of young people, faithful to the instructions which had been transmitted to them, preceded, followed, and surrounded his carriage. White ribands, and white cockades were fixed on their arms and on their hats; they shouted and invited, on all sides, cries of “*Vive le Roi*,” to which nobody dreamt of replying. Who would not have been deceived as Alexander? He yielded to the cries of a faction, hitherto weak and contemned, and thought he yielded, to the wishes of France.

It is known with what noble frankness this Prince has since explained himself. So worthy was he to hear, and to appreciate truth, that he imagined no other language could be addressed to him. His error, although not of long duration, was irreparable. All good Frenchmen, who from that time foresaw the fatal consequences, were constrained to forget themselves, and to think only of consolidating

that which had been founded by intrigue and chance. Never were circumstances more favourable for the attainment of this end : never was less advantage taken of them. From the first moment of the return of the Bourbons, absolute inconsistency was apparent between the official acts of the Monarch, and the language of the princes and of those by whom they were surrounded. In the first instance, the king was persuaded not to accept the form of a constitution, which was about to be laid before him, inasmuch as it bore marks of resemblance to his unfortunate brother, the imitation of whose example it was, at this time, of the highest importance to avoid. It was then decided that the French people should accept the charter, which would be granted them by the King, in the 23d year of his reign. But even that did not accord with the views of the court, as the result shortly proved. It was known, although the Journals observed silence on the subject, by what means this acceptance was effected ; which, independently of its having been freely given by the Legislative Body, possessed nothing either popular or legal, since this body had neither power nor authority to legislate on an object of so much importance. Not only was all discussion interdicted, but it is even to be remarked, that the sitting was closed at the instant in which the King proposed to the assembly, as if by inspiration, “ not to separate before taking the oath.” This idea was considered so apropos, and the acceptance of the charter appeared to be so

pressing, that the King's proposition was received with enthusiasm, and instantly adopted. Some discontented men in the assembly, expressed their anxiety, though in vain, to offer some observations; but their imprudent voices were drowned by acclamations; and thus France passed under the empire of her fifth constitution! All this was accomplished in much less time than I require to relate it. And can it be wondered at, that a charter thus conceived, should have been violated, or evaded, in its most important articles, as often as the interests of the Ministers suggested this? And why may I not add, that there are not, perhaps, any people in the world but the French, who could, to such an extent, have become the dupes of words, and content themselves, without any investigation, with a nominal Constitution, which subjected them to the most absolute despotism that ever existed, since nothing was discussed, explained, or modified, and in which nothing real yet exists but the entire power of the Ministry, and the slavery of all the rest. I do not, however, pretend to deny that, under the first restoration, its forms were mild and supportable; and for a nation, that does not protest against its chains, unless those chains are chains of iron, such a government, had it known how to preserve itself, would have been the most analogous to the new customs which were brought back to us by a degenerate monarchy. Nevertheless, I cannot here refrain from making a severe, but too common a reflection: it is, that in reproaching, without underva-

luing a nation, (which ought long since to have resisted a yoke determined to be imposed on her, and not to have yielded but to the efforts of a violent resistance) it is difficult to account for the excess of docility with which, in transports of joy, she submitted to, and appeared, afterwards, to glory in her destruction.

I acknowledge to have been often struck with the force of this argument, which I have heard employed against France, in almost every part of Europe ; but for those who are acquainted with the history of the human heart, and with that of nations, nothing is so easily solved as these contradictions, more apparent than real. The people, divided by opinions, as they are by interests, form themselves into factions, and take opposite directions. Greater perfection must not be required of human nature than can be expected from her ; nor should nations be judged of with more severity than individuals. If, in the councils of wise men, unanimity is impossible, how could it have been looked for from an incensed multitude, without knowledge, at the moment when one of those extraordinary men, formed to change the destinies of the world, had just raised himself up in the midst of them ? Bonaparte appeared to be called to glory, by giving liberty to Europe. He was for some years considered destined to consummate this great work ; and the genius which he developed in his military career, and in the first measures of his government,

would have rendered him worthy of it, had he not preferred the common course of ambition and tyranny to the immortal fame that awaited him. If, when elevated to the Consulship, the English nation had not enjoyed the most free government in Europe, all his thoughts, would, perhaps, have been occupied in giving liberty to France; but all comparison was to him odious; his pride would not permit him to accede to any suggestion that had not emanated from himself. The liberty of England has, probably, been one of the great obstacles in preventing France from becoming free!

The King had made great promises, and although they by no means acquired general confidence, every body unanimously considered this prince infinitely superior to him who was destined by birth to be his successor—to this prince, whose heart is much better than his head, but whose unaccountable levity, astonishing inexperience, and unheard-of blindness, after so many disasters, constitute one of the most inexplicable phenomena in the human heart. I shall say nothing of the princes, his sons. A high mind and noble intentions, unsupported by great strength of character, by a determined perseverance of mind, and by a wise religious tolerance, offer but a very slender guarantee for him who is destined to govern. As to the last of the princes of the royal family—him, on whom, at present, all the hopes of the House of Bourbon appear to be fixed, I shall re-

frain from expressing my opinion; the language of frankness is so foreign to the greater part of those who are born on the steps of a throne, that that which to the generality of mankind would be but a severe truth, would, doubtless, in their estimation, be considered an outrage; and I have already said that the object of this work is not to give offence, but to be true, and to instruct.

The King was aware that the first act of his power, on re-entering the territory of his country, should be that of proclaiming himself its protector and father. He promised that all established institutions should be maintained; that the Public Functionaries in the judicial order, and in the Administration, ought to be preserved; that property, that every thing, as it at that time stood, should be guaranteed and secured; in one word, that there should be no change in the social order, but in its head.

Language, so conciliating, resounded from all parts, and every heart was inspired with confidence; the happiness of France was still in the hands of the King: wise and faithful counsellors could have sealed it for ever. The folly of presumption; sentiments of vengeance, ill-suppressed by vain hopes; inexperience of the past, and short-sightedness of the future, hastened the destruction of every thing. The Princes were put in motion; they traversed France, and only committed blunders: but they were excusable, for

they could not do otherwise. Strangers to a people, equally strange to them, there was not, either in their interests, in their remembrances, in their ideas, or in their sentiments, any thing reciprocal. Abandoned to their courtesans, either intriguing or stupid, and compelled to view every thing through the eyes of men, interested in deceiving them, a fatal impulse could not but be given to a re-action, which has since manifested itself in every part of France ; they have embroiled all, confounded all, and overthrown every thing ; they have themselves become the distributors of the *Cross of the Lilly*, of the *Legion of Honor*, and of the *Order of Saint Louis* ; they have debased, by the use they have made of it, that which was already degraded. High national rewards, to which honor gave their entire value, have been prostituted to intrigue and baseness. These have been obtained without merit ; and frequently, even, the claims which were arrogantly preferred, exhibited but a further proof of the indignity of him by whom they were presented. To odious crimes, as in 1793, the most virtuous names have been given, and horrible vengeance designated as only the error of an honourable zeal ; funeral services have been performed for the authors of the infernal machine ; the relatives of those who, by this most horrid invention, had carried mourning into a hundred families, have been enriched ; the Peerage had been conferred on the family of General George, whose misfortune I lament as much as I reverence his devot-

edness; but whose services could not have been permitted by a wise politician to be placed on a level with those of the Generals in our Armies; and, in order to complete this strange subversion of all ideas, in a country where the salic law exists, and which absolutely precludes women from exercising, or participating in the Sovereign Power, the Duchess of Angouleme undertook to traverse France also, and to distribute, on her part, crosses and places.

These tours, the unhappy effects of which the mind of the King, as just as penetrating, began to discover, afforded every where an opportunity of calling into action hateful passions, the most afflicting recollections, and the most violent animosities.

The purchasers of national domains, protected by constitutional right, found themselves every where, in fact, under the necessity of avoiding the route of the princes, whose indignation, which they were but too much disposed to cherish, was invoked against them. All those who had held places, during the stormy periods of the revolution—those who had adopted its principles with exultation—those who had been members of popular societies—those who had signed addresses relative to passing events: in fine, all those who had identified themselves with those days of mourning and of glory, shared the same fate. A fermentation, of which the symptoms became more and more alarming, manifested itself in every part

in France ; the danger was discovered to have been so imminent, as to render the immediate recall of the imprudent tourists indispensable, in order to repair the mischief, of which they had been the authors ; and this, it was imagined, would best be accomplished by producing still greater mischief—that of sending Monsieur.

This journey, of which the appearances were, for a moment, promising, was, in every point of view, attended with the most disastrous results. It was, indeed, (and the proof of it had just been demonstrated), a strange idea to think of confiding the charge of uniting all parties, to men, who had been twenty-six years absent from France ; who, during that absence, had occupied themselves in inventing schemes of vengeance ; to whom men and things had become equally foreign ; and who were on the eve of particularly connecting themselves with that class of Frenchmen, whom they considered as the chief instruments of their ruin ; and who, by the events of the Revolution, had become land-holders, and at the same time been raised to the highest places in the Magistracy, in the Administration, and in the Army.

Every thing that could be foreseen from such a mission, the sentiments of the Princes having been imprudently declared, came to pass. The journey of Monsieur exceeded all the consequences which had been anticipated : he filled up the measure of the er-

rors of his sons ; indeed, it may be said, that no discretion whatever was observed during this fatal tour ; in proportion as strength was imagined to have been acquired, every thing, it was thought, might be braved without danger. Thus were animosities embittered amongst those, whom the violation of all that had been promised, had rendered accessible to the insinuations of hatred. Dismissals rapidly succeeded each other ; those whose hopes had been disappointed, were not backward to make known their fears ; and these fears were always speedily realised ; so that in less than ten months, three-fourths of the Public Functionaries were discharged, and the rest, it was openly announced, were on the point of sharing the same fate : a more flagrant violation of the royal promise could not have been conceived.

Two very serious inconveniences resulted from these measures : the total inexperience of a great number of new Placemen, unacquainted with the duties to which they were called, and many discontented persons, whose influence was too inconsiderable to preserve the equilibrium ; for those who entered into office, with fortunes already made, obtained but an augmentation, and, in some respects, a superfluity of means ; whilst the unfortunate men who had been supplanted—almost all of them fathers of families—of long standing in office—incapable of commencing a new career—and now deprived of actual necessities, brought back into society their just resentments, and

that despair which rendered them absolutely capable of every species of excess. The number of suicides, even, was so frequent and alarming, that the newspapers received orders not to communicate them to the public. Changes, similar to those spoken of, if not imperiously called for by an indispensable economy, (and never were they less so than at this epoch, since some persons who had been dismissed on the score of age, were succeed by others still more aged), are always impolitic.

Before the King had made the most solemn promises at Compeigne, Monsieur had announced, in his proclamations, the intended suppression of the conscription, and of the excise duties. From the first of these promises, when a disposition was still studiously shewn to remain faithful to the engagements just entered into with the French nation, the disorganization of the army resulted. Leave of absence was granted to a great number in the army, and those who could not obtain it, returned to their families.

Such a state of things could not last. It again became necessary to have recourse to coercive measures; the violent acts of the latter part of the reign of Buonaparte were renewed; and the high roads were again seen covered with conscripts chained together. I was at Lyons when those who, having been marched in from different parts of the neighbouring departments, were shut up in the Hotel de Ville;

where they seized the shattered fragments of a tri-coloured flag, planted it on the balcony of that hotel, and then cried, with all their might, "*Vive l'Empereur !*" They went unpunished, because the French Government was not then in a situation to punish any body ; they were only sentenced by a military decision to a few days imprisonment. A thousand facts of this kind might be recited, all which alternately displayed the abuse of power, and the excess of imbecility.

It was not either loyal or politic to announce the intention to abolish immediately the excise duties, inasmuch as it was perfectly well known, that without a general derangement of the public service, this important branch of the revenue could not be retrenched.

What therefore happened ? Alarming insurrections, respecting which the public journals observed the strictest silence, broke out on all sides, and those chargeable with the contributions refused, with the proclamations of Monsieur in hand, to pay the duties. The proceedings in the Exchequer, sufficiently vexatious of themselves, were rendered the more intolerable by the description of agents by whom they were conducted. One, M. Berenger, the most unwise, the most unjust, and the most brutal of men, had been placed at the head of the Excise, instead of a very suitable Director General, who, by an amiable

and mild procedure, had invariably softened the rigour inseparable from his office ;* but it was said that this man entered into the views of the agents of the government, to renew, or rather to subvert every thing ; so true is it, that the interest of the public is always sacrificed to that of faction.

What shall I say of the inconceivable fury with which the government have attacked and mutilated that noble institution, the *Legion of Honor*, become so national, and to which recollections, and the glory of the French army were so imminently attached, that blindness, stupidity, and a want of foresight have only been able to tarnish it ?

So unaccountable a hatred was entertained to every thing that existed under the preceding government, that, unable to destroy this institution but by disgracing it, no time was lost in communicating, through the medium of the Press, that the *Legion of Honor* would henceforth be considered as only a recompense for civil services. Three days sufficed to shew the danger of this declaration, and the dreadful consequences that might result from it. The military expressed themselves with a violence that excited general alarm ; their words were accompanied by threats ; and the article in the Journals was contra-

* M. Francais, of Nantes.

dicted with as much precipitation as it had been inserted. This unskilful manœuvre, which convinced no one, only discovered fear. If it were still necessary to prove that the government* aimed in their journals only at consulting the public opinion, it would be sufficient merely to look at the system on which they have since acted. In disavowing their own articles, they have not renounced a single opinion : without doubt a point was gained by bringing into disrepute the Legion of Honor, but it was determined that the *order of St. Louis* should become the only military institution, and even by this the other could not be affected.

The *order of St. Louis*, formerly the reward of brilliant valour, or of long services, had lost almost all its lustre under the two last reigns; it was a stranger, for twenty five years, to the victories of the French army; which in twenty-five battles had trampled it under foot, and invariably conquered those on whom this decoration had been conferred. Military distinctions essentially derive all their worth from

* It is not forgotten, that during this entire period, the influence of the court, or, which is the same thing, that of the emigrants of 89, had acquired the ascendancy over the government. To this fatal influence, for some months suspended, but of which the return incessantly menaces France, both our past misfortunes, and those still more dreadful which the future announces, must ever be attributed, so long as there shall remain nothing to change in the principles of the human heart.

public opinion ; but if that opinion abandons them, they lose their importance. This it behoved the French government above all things to have felt, but which they appeared at that time to have altogether forgotten.

This was not the only instance in which it was easily perceived how greatly deficient was the French government in foresight in its designs, and in stability in its resolutions. Its profound ignorance of the elements of which its power ought to have been composed, gave to its measures a character of vacillation, uncertainty and imbecility, which not one of those who were highly interested in well knowing and appreciating its strength, could possibly fail to notice. Each day a fresh imprudence was followed by a fresh atonement. The journals of to-day appeared to be occupied in carefully correcting the errors and blunders of yesterday ; hence government was judged, and confidence destroyed. Once well ascertained that a direction had been given to the public prints (a circumstance never doubtful to those conversant with affairs) and the little influence which yet remained to them vanished ; their authors were mentioned by name ; it was known to what party they belonged, and what salary they were paid. Those Journals which the government appeared to have especially recognized, were sent gratuitously to all known to be more particularly attached to the faction, which had already begun, with success, to try its

strength; and sometimes even to others, who were astonished at it, and thus was exposed this miserable trick.

The secret commission with which these papers appeared for the most part to have been charged, was to degrade all the institutions which had been created during the twenty-six years that had just elapsed; to load with opprobrium the names of all who had taken an active part in the revolution, without reference to the periods; to efface, with precaution, but with perseverance, the remembrance of the glory of Frenchmen; to substitute ancient names instead of those of their Generals, who, since the year 1792, had commanded their armies; in a word, to prepare, by degrees, the public opinion to the formal forgetfulness of all the royal promises—the last point impatiently sought to be attained, and for which nothing was to be neglected.*

Some writers had the boldness to speak loudly against the system of defamation which in all parts reared its head. Their printers were threatened, their persons denounced, and their arrest proposed.

* It is unnecessary for me here to remark, as it will undoubtedly have been elsewhere noticed, how completely the King was estranged to these contemptible manœuvres—equally unworthy the enlightened mind of this Prince, his noble character, and his high rank.

The police, still perplexed and timid, required orders in writing. That which imprudence advised, imbecility refused. It was said at Paris that milder means were afterwards resorted to, and that the silence of these indiscreet writers had been purchased. Whether they had been operated upon by fear or seduction, is not known ; but what cannot be doubted, is, that in England either of these means would have failed in its effect : and that in a few days public opinion would have done justice, either to a writer dastardly enough to sell himself, or to the oppressive Minister who should have attempted to intimidate him.

If what is to be understood by the liberty of the Press, had not always been in France a derision insulting to public opinion, this would assuredly of all other pleasantries have been the most original and ludicrous. It is impossible to know precisely in our legislation with reference to libraries, how many decrees, ordinances imperial, or royal, regulations of the police, circulars, stamped with legal authority, and private injunctions on printers and booksellers, (whose shops moreover are continually searched) exist, in order to maintain this liberty to its utmost extent !*** Most frequently the secret circulars were in opposition to public acts, which placed authors, printers and booksellers in the most extraordinary perplexities.

Amongst others there exists a circular of the Direc-

tor General of Booksellers, under date of the 15th of November, 1814, which is a perfect master-piece of refined ambiguity ; notwithstanding there was not a single bookseller at Paris who did not carefully preserve it at that period for his own safety, and who did not often refer to it, in order to assure himself of what was not always easy, that he was not acting in opposition to any of its regulations. In this letter the Director General condescended to acknowledge that publications, under 30 sheets, were not, by the terms of the royal ordonnance, subject to the censorship ; “ nevertheless,” adds this magistrate, with all possible benignity, in addressing himself to the printers and booksellers “ I think it my duty not to conceal from you that as to the greater part of your works, the censorship is the ONLY means of securing your tranquillity, in every thing that concerns the public authority, tribunals &c.!! Who will not discover in this unequivocal declaration, the most formal order to print nothing without the licence of the censorship? To tell the booksellers that without this permission they have every thing to dread, is it not to command it? Some printers have been arrested judged and condemned for having reprinted facts inserted twenty years ago in the journals, at that time in the interest of the government ; it is true, that some of those facts gravely accused the person of the King I considered them at the time, as did all wise men as an odious calumny ; but were not in fact, the arrest and the condemnation of the printers, for hav

ing simply reprinted these calumnies, a perfectly sure mode of demonstrating their falsity? Was this measure either prudent or politic? I think not, and it appeared to me, when this affair was brought before the courts, in order to undergo a legal discussion, that all enlightened men at Paris concurred in this opinion. Moreover, the number of miserable quibbles that have since been employed, to prove that a government, which establishes itself, ought, for its own preservation, to pursue particular rules, cannot possibly be conceived. For the last twenty-eight years we have been talking of liberty, and governments, which, amongst us, so rapidly succeed each other, never fail, on establishing themselves, to assign the best reasons in the world to demonstrate that there is no surer way of becoming free, than to begin by being slaves. From the bloody oligarchy of the Committee of public safety unto the re-establishment of the House of Bourbon, reasoning on the same basis has invariably been adopted, and the same principles have as invariably been acted upon. . . .

The Chamber of Deputies, as constituted under the first restoration, conveyed the most strange idea of what was then called in France, the representative system. It was, in fact, nothing but a great council of state, of which all the members, if they had not been immediately nominated by the king, at least were rendered absolutely dependant on the

nisters by the salary which they received from the state* and the favors they expected from the government either for themselves or for their families. I knew amongst the deputies of that time some men highly respectable, but not one of distinguished talents. The Chamber of Peers had preserved more independence; there the power of the Ministry was less absolute: if the Court counted amongst them many partisans, it was not at least by corruption that they had been so acquired. The disasters of the revolution—the fear of their repetition—the necessity, in order to prevent this, and to maintain established order, rallied round the government a great number of men of merit and of birth, who, far from approving the despotism of the ministers, thought of nothing from that time but of restraining its limits. Moreover, as the real national representation is in the Commons, it is evident this had no existence in France; for the Chamber of Peers only, however honourably it might have been thought to be composed, could not possibly constitute it.

To be able to form a correct estimate of the independence, and of the wisdom which then reigned in

* I shall explain this assertion. Nobody can deny that the Deputies were nominated by the direct influence of the ministry. They drew from the state a salary of ten thousand francs. It was, therefore, in fact, to the ministry that they were indebted for their political existence, and for the benefit which this insured to them.

the French Parliament, it would suffice to know, that almost all the projects presented by the Ministers to the chambers, in order to become the object of their deliberations, were actually put in execution long before these laws were enacted, sometimes under the shape of an ordonnance of the king, who had no power to make them, inasmuch as the objects on which they legislated could not become binding, but on their receiving, by the concurrence of the two chambers, the force of law ; and sometimes, and most frequently, simply on ministerial decisions. It must, however, be admitted that a sort of compensation was hence derived, for if the Ministers arrogated to themselves the right of executing laws not yet brought into existence, they did not believe themselves less empowered to suspend the execution of those which already existed.

I know of no instance in which a single protestation was made either in the Chamber of Peers, or in that of the Deputies, against an abuse so revolting. Our ideas on every thing that concerns the most sacred rights, the dearest interests of the nation, are yet so ill-digested, and so infantile, that our gravest legislators would have looked upon that, as time lost, which should have been employed in discussions of this nature !

The important business of national property had just been concluded to the dissatisfaction of all par-

ties. Instead of considering this question in all the important points which it embraced, it had only been viewed as a measure of finance. The government thought they had been generous, whereas they had not even been just. Far from uniting the emigrants to the great family of state, by granting them the immediate restitution of such of their property as had not been sold, or appropriated to the public service, and by indemnifying from the treasury those proprietors, whose confiscated property could not be restored, a middle course was adopted, which satisfied neither the claims of the emigrants, nor that of justice. The spirit of avarice interposed when only the policy of the state and of equity could be heard. The court condescended to discharge a great duty, but was unwilling to bear its weight, and it would not even reduce a single man from the useless luxury of its enormous military household. Nobody was ignorant of the immense sums which the support of this establishment required; and a report at the same time prevailed, that the court had deposited considerable sums in foreign banks. The public expressed themselves bitterly on the great number of useless profusions, which, if well employed, would have ameliorated the condition of a multitude of emigrants, reduced to extreme misery and want; but it is much easier, and, above all, more economical to make an elegant speech from a pulpit, and to shed some tears on the fate of the unfortunate, than to submit to the smallest sacrifice for their support. The extra-

ordinary speech delivered at this period from the Tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, by one of the government orators, rendered this reflection general.

Moreover, at the very instant when the government caused to be discussed, step by step, the interests and the rights of the emigrants proscribed for their cause, and shewed itself so avaricious for indemnities, which delicacy, and perhaps duty, required should not be borne by the nation, their journals imperiously called on the purchasers of domains, declared national, to renounce their titles, and to make restitutions, which ceased to be voluntary from the moment when the government made known its wish, or, rather, its intentions. In the saloons of the Duchess of Angouleme, of the Duke of Berri, and of Mr. de Blaccas, not less hatred than contempt was expressed towards such of the purchasers as would not consent to abandon their property. This manœuvre of the court was, without doubt, not very politic, as it created for them numberless enemies; but it was important to the government to carry a system, which would ease themselves of a burden of indemnities, by placing them on the shoulders of others. In fact, if the application of this system had become general, it would have resulted to the French people to pay the enormous debt which the house of Bourbon had contracted on account of the emigrants. All means were resorted to, to attain this great end. People

were invited, were frightened, were threatened. Two advocates (Messrs. Falconet and Dard) having imagined they could read in the pages of futurity the probable issue of the important discussions about to take place, entertained the wish to please the court, and to augment their patronage, by maintaining, with a sort of hardihood, an opinion, which, in their judgment, would shortly become triumphant. It was at first conjectured that they had received secret instructions from Ministers, and these early suspicions were very soon afterwards converted into certainty; at the same time the violence and the audacity of their writings had produced on the minds of the people so much irritation and discontent, that they were, instantaneously abandoned by the ministry, by whom they had just been employed—impeached, in their names, before the courts—and arrested by their orders. After having lain a few days in prison, and undergone an examination before the magistracy, they were set at liberty; but the public remained firm in the opinion, that the whole of this business had been arranged with the Ministry, in order to demonstrate to what point the government was determined to carry their rigour towards any one who should dare henceforth to invade the rights of the purchasers of national domains. A great deal of noise was made without convincing any body—the ordinary result of bad faith, almost always consequent on fear and weakness.

How could it be conceived, in the midst of such confusion, that a national spirit, favourable to the House of Bourbon, should spring up in France? Thus none did exist; and it therefore became necessary to the government, in order to support themselves, and to create confidence in their power, to have recourse to all the tricks of weakness. Pamphlets, which nobody would purchase, were their daily weapons. The great interests of the state were neglected, in order to amuse the King with some of those triumphs of the Chapel, or of the Theatre, by which it has always been so easy to deceive princes as to the real state of the public opinion. I was but too much in the situation to judge of this before the eternally deplorable epoch of the 10th August 1792; I had seen this King,* the best of men, received with transport on his way, when, during the last months of 1791, he went to the Theatres, where also the most lively acclamations attended him. Who would not have thought, in the midst of such shouts of joy and affection, his throne was eternal? The hearts which remained faithful to his misfortunes, took delight in persuading themselves of this, and in repeating it incessantly to him: notwithstanding which, in a few months afterwards his throne was overturned, and the most virtuous of monarchs lost his head on the scaffold!!!

* Louis XVI.

The recollection of so many horrors and crimes, still obtrude themselves on my thoughts ! I endeavour, though in vain, to chase them from my mind, inasmuch as the period may speedily arrive, when animosities, short-sightedness, and blind presumption, shall again seat themselves on this ill-established throne, and menace the future with all the evils of the past, although it would have been so easy, and, still perhaps might not be impossible, by a profession of faith, authentic and without reserve, maintained by a frank and loyal conduct, to prevent for ever their return. May Providence dissipate so many disastrous omens ! May these princes not forget that history exercises over the people, and over Kings, a powerful jurisdiction, from which they cannot escape ; and that it is not amongst the official monuments of adulation and falsehood, that she will one day find the colours with which she must paint and transmit them to posterity.

My stay at Paris, under the first restoration, was not of long duration. I panted but for the moment to remove myself far from it ; I did, in fact, depart, on the 3d July, and retired to the chateau of C....., situated some leagues from Orleans. It was there, that, calling to my memory the stormy circumstances of a life destined to misfortune, I composed, in September 1814, the two first parts of my memoirs ; there I lived alone during three months, with a man whom, for twenty-nine

years, I had regarded as my sincere friend; obliged to renounce one of my dearest ties, I resolved, at length, to seek an asylum elsewhere. I wrote to the Duke of O . . . , then retired with his family to his chateau of F He offered me, with perfect kindness, the most friendly hospitality; I remained with him during the months of October and Nov.; I devoted, in copying, and revising my work, the time which it was permitted me to steal from our long promenades.

Frequently the Court consulted the old experience of the Duke, but it was almost always with the determination not to follow the advice which it dictated. From the moment it was decreed not to adopt any of his views, it became necessary to resolve on proscribing him. This, in politics, is the ordinary course of things. Woe to him, who, after having been called to the councils of princes, suddenly sees himself excluded; woe to him still more, if, not having been called, but by imperious necessity, to know their secrets, and to share their confidence, that necessity happening, in their opinion, to cease, the means of safety should appear independent of his succours. Such was the situation of the Duke of O . . . , before his return to Paris, and it became daily more difficult. It was known why the order, in the days which preceded the return of Buonaparte, and after a long interview with Monsieur, to arrest him, had been given, and also why it was not possible to put it in exe-

cution. It is not my design to detail any of those facts which only took place a long while after my departure. Foreseeing the fresh storms which threatened France, although I so little expected that which so suddenly burst, I resolved on returning to Italy, and it was to Naples where I determined to go.

The Marquis of St. E. . . . , a minister of King Joachim, not acknowledged at Paris, and whom the police every day more and more harrassed, offered me, in these circumstances, all the good offices in his power, and those good offices, even, rather suspected than known by a police, distrustful and weak, were made, some days after my departure, a pretext for a very active persecution; the result of which obliged the Marquis of St. E. . . . to quit France. I do not even know whether, in fact, he obtained leave to proceed to Vienna, the passports so frequently demanded by him for that residence (where the business of his sovereign called him) having been uniformly refused.

I left Paris on the 7th December, 1814, uncertain in regard to my future destiny, cherishing but feeble hopes as to the reception I might meet with from a Prince to whom I was scarcely known; though well assured by all that I had already seen, and by that which it was easy to foresee, that no country in the world would henceforth be more inhospitable

to me than France. Although habituated, as for a long time I had been, to the caprice of fortune, I felt in these circumstances, an uneasiness, an inward affection, to which, until now, I had ever been a stranger. I had endured imprisonment and exile, but never was under the necessity of quitting my country; never, in my disgrace, was I exposed to the banishment that now awaited me: the consolation of friendship had never abandoned me. Love had more than once softened, by its allusions, the rigours of my captivity; I recollected this on quitting France, and it frequently caused me to lament the misfortunes to which were attached the sentiments and the recollection of so many enjoyments.

I could not resolve on passing the Alps without going to see, at Embrun, Mr. and Mrs. J. . . . , whom I had known in Italy, and of whom I so often speak in the second part of this work. Mr. J. . . . was the King's Counsel in the *Tribunal de première Instance* of this district. Mrs. J. . . . 's mode of living was far from being so agreeable as it had been at Verceil. I do not know what Embrun is in summer, but it is said, that this wild situation, during some months, is embellished, and that the woods which cover these parched mountains with verdure, possess a beauty peculiar to themselves; I like to believe it, because the inhabitants appear to take much pains to induce this belief; but I confess I feel no wish to partake with them of this

happy illusion. The road from Embrun to Briançon presents an aspect uncommon enough in France; and in winter one might persuade himself that he had been transported to the middle of the deserts of Siberia; on the road, otherwise very good; only a small number of houses are to be seen; the fort of Mount-Dauphin is situated on a rock, in the middle of this desert, and does not itself exhibit a less wild aspect than the barren country in which it is situated.

Briançon is seen; on rising ground, at a great distance; high mountains command it on all sides: and what is an inexplicable error, and now acknowledged to have been committed by the engineer, who undertook to make this place an obstacle to the march of an army, is, that an enemy, possessing himself of the heights, (the roads to which are accessible on all points) might in one day reduce it to ashes, and continue his operations, unmolested. The best defence of the country consists in itself—in the difficulty of mustering the troops; of getting provisions; in the long and difficult chain of mountains which must be traversed before arriving at the plains of Grenoble; and, above all, in the situation of this passage itself, which communicates but with one point of Piedmont, and could only serve for the theatre of war, in the event of a general invasion, or of a confederation of powers, as happened latterly, and also under the reign of Louis XIV. In any other circumstances, the fear would

be absurd that the King of Sardinia should make war with France, which, by himself, it would be impossible for him to maintain. It is, without doubt, to the last considerations of which I have just spoken, that the negligence of the different governments, which, since 28 years, have succeeded each other in France, is to be attributed in not having put the fort of Briançon in a respectable state of defence, by fortifying it in a very different manner from what has been done, and, by new works, rendering inaccessible all the heights which command it. I am assured that there is not a Frenchman, or a foreigner, although unskilled in the art, even much more so than I am myself, who would not, in traversing this line of our frontiers, be struck with these observations ; which, moreover, I have heard fully confirmed by some of the most distinguished inhabitants of the city, whom the events of the last war had particularly qualified to judge of their importance.

I left my carriage at Lyons, to be sent to Turin, by Mount Cenis, and there to await me. The road from Grenoble to Gap is not passable in winter, and that from Briançon to Suze is not at any time, but for people on foot or on horseback. A private carriage, therefore, took me from Embrun to Briançon, and I went from the latter town to Suze on horseback. The passage of Mount Genevre was dreadful ; a thaw had two days previously melted the ice and the snow with

which the mountain had been covered ; and rendered it so slippery that the horse could scarcely keep on his legs. My guide was no less embarrassed than myself ; we went but a quarter of a league in an hour. At length I arrived, almost dead with cold, after a journey of eight or nine hours, at the last post of the French custom-houses, situated on the top of the mountain ; where I had a good fire made, took some refreshment, of which, from extreme cold, I felt but little need, and vigorously pursued my route.

In another season, I should have beheld with extacy, the lovely views which are seen from the summit of Mount Genevre ; some clear parts of the sky now and then peeping through the clouds ; some rays of the sun, uncommon and pale, in the midst of the clouds, and the fog which surrounded me, sufficiently indicated this, and redoubled my regret. I cannot here refrain from bringing to mind my sensation at the moment I passed over the French frontiers. It was diametrically opposite to that which I experienced eight months before on entering France. A faithful account is given of this at the end of the second part of my memoirs, and, without doubt, a great number of my readers, disinherited of their country, as I then was, will recollect their own feelings as I have there portrayed them.

From the village of Cézanne, situated at the foot of Mount Genevre, and where the first post of the

Piedmontese customs is established, the road runs, as far as Suze, by the side of a torrent, and, inclosed by mountains, presents an aspect more picturesque than agreeable ; there are but few houses, and these very poor ; it is only on approaching the small town of Exilles, that the aspect of these mountains becomes less wild, and the road a little wider ; but on leaving the town, on the way to Suze, the road again narrows, and the travelling is only between walls and hedges, of which I could have but a glimpse, by the light of the moon, seen now and then through thick clouds, and which only sheds forth its light at long intervals.

The distance from Exilles to Suze, which is only a league, appeared to me enormous ; I was overcome with cold, fatigue, and vexation. My horse, which I had hurried on for some hours, in order to avoid being at mid-night on a road, the danger of which had not been concealed from me, required rest no less than myself. At length I arrived at Suze, with only sufficient strength to ask for a bed, on which I threw myself, and immediately fell asleep. The guide who had conducted me, did not arrive, though I knew not why, until an hour after me, and I did not see him before the next day : he stopped at every place where he could get any thing to drink. I paid him, and he was much better pleased with me than I was with him : he took his leave and returned to Briançon, whence he came. I took, at the post where I slept, and where I was recognized by the landlord, a lan-

dau drawn by two horses, and drove by a postillon. I left Suze at 9 o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Turin, at four in the afternoon, which city, three years before, in the same month, and almost on the same day, I entered for the first time, with this only difference, that then the imperial bounty, attaching me to an administration, to which all my prior studies rendered me an entire stranger, and consequently useless, had ordered me never more to pass the Alps, in order, to return to France, unless permission should be expressly granted me; and whereas now the banishment which I imposed on myself was entirely voluntary.

But if with all France—if with the whole of the Continent—I was the slave of one man in 1811, I could not, at least, take a step in a foreign land without there seeing proofs of the glory and the independence of my country. Fatal glory without doubt, and too dearly purchased, but of which the altars, sprinkled, so many ages since, with the blood of our forefathers, will not, most probably, be less so with that of our children!***

I remained only a few days at Turin, where I found my carriage and vallet de chambre waiting for me. I departed on the 24th December for Milan, after having seen there a small number of my old friends, from whom I received the most affectionate treatment during the stay I made in that city.

Turin having been mentioned in my passport, as the

termination of my journey, I was under the necessity of going to see the Marquis of Osmond, then Ambassador from France, at the Sardinian court, in order to get a new destination added to it. I found in the brother of the Archbishop of Florence, (at present Bishop of Nancy, and with whom I had been very intimate in Tuscany,) the most amiable and obliging man in the world. I felt myself under no obligation to enter into any intimacy with him, and only asked him to sign it for Bologna; for it was not improbable that even my intention to go to Naples, would have created suspicions in a French minister. If he entertained any, which could not be doubted, he did not discover it to me.

We conversed much about his brother; he did me the honor to invite me to come frequently to see him during my stay at Turin, (whence I departed the next day) and I left him penetrated with his kind attention, and with the politeness with which he complied with my request. From the new order of things established in Piedmont, I could expect nothing on the part of the government; I was even led to fear that my presence would give umbrage to them, inasmuch as it was but too well known at Turin, that no one, under the reign of Buonaparte, had more openly declared himself than me in favour of the system of Italian independence. No idea, at any time, or in any country, could more warmly have engaged my thoughts. The hope of assisting in the execution

of this plan, as grand as it was glorious, had been, by a secret impulse, not to be described, the principal object of my journey.

I shall pride myself, to the latest period of my life, on the efforts I have made to insure its success. Under the government of Buonaparte, as well as that under the House of Austria, I left nothing undone that could contribute to the triumph of this noble cause. Some insurmountable obstacles, which I shall shortly have occasion to disclose, and the most horrible catastrophe, have given a death blow for ever—for a long time at least—to this noble enterprise. But let us not speak of this at present; this source of painful recollections will shortly open itself to me.

My first business, on arriving at Milan, was to see my excellent friend the Count of St. F..... He gave me some most valuable information on the situation of Italy. The Austrian yoke, though mild, was universally detested. Those same Milanese, who, with transports of joy, had seen the French depart, exclaimed against their successors with complaints and menaces; or, rather, as in all revolutions, and in all capitals, the population of the different classes was divided into parties, alternately triumphant and defeated. It is moreover at the close of great political commotions, (the mind having still preserved its effervescence) that the people, exclusively absorbed

by present troubles, appear to have lost all recollection of the past. The most trifling measures of the new government, the most simple acts, sometimes even the most insignificant, of the administration which succeeds, are the invariable object of a comparison, which never fails to be advantageous to that which has preceded it, because the burden of a present evil, although light, is much more insupportable than the remembrance of a past evil, however heavy it might have been thought.

It must, however, be avowed, that a real antipathy does exist between the Germans and Italians. The former are cold and reserved; the latter warm, communicative, and the friends of independence. There is no necessity to explain that it is of the new generation I particularly speak, that is, of all who have not arrived at the age of fifty. I perceived with what eagerness, I will say enthusiasm, I was surrounded, pressed on, and questioned, on arriving at the Hotel de la Ville, where, in the course of my preceding excursions in the *ci-devant* kingdom of Italy, I was accustomed to alight, and that an object was, from that moment attributed to my journey, the accomplishment of which was the secret subject of all their hopes.

At Milan, much was said about a conspiracy directed against the Austrian government, the project of which had been just disclosed. A great number

of generous Italians had been arrested, and confined in the citadel of Mantua. The partisans of Austria, and the ill-informed persons of all parties, circulated a report "That the king of Naples was at the bottom of this project; that the conspirators had been but his agents, and that the conspiracy, at the moment of its breaking out, had been revealed to Count Bellegrade, Governor General, by the Prince himself, who had dispatched to him the correspondence and the propositions of the generous Italians, as well as the list of those who had headed this project." An absurd, odious, and execrable accusation against which the well-known frankness and loyalty of this unfortunate Prince ought to have shielded him; and whose memory I will not less exert myself to defend (since an assassination, unheard of, premeditated, and executed by a single minister, has sent him to the grave) than I did to justify him when seated on his throne.

Let no one be astonished at so much zeal! I should owe truth to those who should read this work, even though they should only search from it useful materials for history. But I owe it to a title much more sacred in my estimation. King Joachim shewed himself to be my friend upon the throne, and would also have been my benefactor! The terrible revolution which deprived him of his crown, and shortly afterwards of his life, afforded him not the time....

I had, in a few days, the happiness to undeceive, without other proofs than the baseness, and even the improbability of calumny, those amongst the accusers of the King, who were only led astray; but the justification was so evident and so plain, that the dark agents of this infamous intrigue were, themselves, reduced to silence.

It will, perhaps, be asked why, as a subject of the King of France, I could quit France, and devote myself to the service of a foreign sovereign, since I could not be ignorant of the hostile sentiments which this Prince, seated upon one of the thrones, not long since occupied by the house of Bourbon, could but have entertained towards this house? My answer will be neither long nor difficult. My fortune was lost in France: the daily encreasing violence of reactions closed on me all the doors of futurity, or, rather, one only was left open to me, that of proscription! Can a more frank explanation, or one possessing more general interest, be required? I never could conceive, I have never been able to explain to myself, the dogma of *legitimacy*, (which reason itself cannot comprehend) taken only in the sense, that nine hundred millions of men, are the unchangeable property of certain families: that whatever were the excesses, the injustice, and the crimes, even, of those families, the unanimous efforts of the subjects to emancipate themselves from an odious yoke, would be a crime exceeding all those which should have pro-

voked its commission; the weakness of this dogma, contradicted by the experience of ages, may, sooner or later, be demonstrated by force. True, and, indeed, the only legitimacy, consists in the consent and obedience of the people, and in hereditary right, delegated by them to a family of their own choice, for the purpose of governing, in what concerns their best interests, agreeably to the expression of the national wish; which, according to the divine will, can alone consecrate, in the moral and physical power of a prince, and in the strength and wisdom of institutions the legitimate exercise of authority. As soon as these four powerful engines of every government (and sometimes only one of them even) are wanting to a monarch, no further right, no further contract exists, that can defend him. His throne, overturned by opinion, is on the point of being so by violence; *legitimacy* might, indeed, in appearance, be the first interest of princes in actual possession of thrones, because it is thought to consecrate their independence; but stability is their first and essential requisite, inasmuch, as by this only, can the obedience of the people be insured to them. Legitimacy, in the absence of *stability*, is nothing but a *word*, the insufficiency of which, reason and strength equally shew, because things which actually do exist, are more powerful than *words*. The *legitimacy* of the reigning houses is destroyed by two means—by the revolutions of the people, as in England, when the principles out of which they arose triumph and consolidate

themseves ; and by conquest when their result is confirmed by treaties ; the example of which is recorded in history by all ages, and by all people ; but if it be attempted to give to this word an extension of meaning, of which it is incapable, and which reason reprobates, what family that now sits on any one throne in Europe can call itself *legitimate* ? Have not almost all of them acquired their thrones by usurpation, more or less recent ? If it be contended that right is acquired from time, and from prescription derived therefrom, let it at least, be shewn by virtue of what European act this right is constituted ? If it be said that the duration of occupancy constitutes stability, I will instantly adopt this opinion, and maintain that from the moment stability is acknowledged, there is legitimacy ; for I have said it, and all public men will agree with me, that it is stability of which the people pre-eminently stand in need.—Why is the system of election to the throne universally rejected ? Why was it so, and but recently, in the only state in Europe, where it had been preserved even to our own days ? It is, because there was nothing in this system but instability and convulsion.

If, therefore, there existed one state, in which the principle of legitimacy stood opposed to stability, it is demonstrative that the actual constitution of that state would threaten the safety of all the others, by harbouring in its bosom an unconquerable propensity for disorder and revolution.

Will it be said, that one of the most important articles of the treaty of the holy alliance, (that idea so noble and so grand, so imminently conservative, and that originated in one of the best princes, whose memory history will preserve) has for its object to guarantee to all princes the possession of the thrones on which they are actually seated? Yes, without doubt, and in this the interests of the people would be essentially consulted, if it also gave to princes the strength, foresight, wisdom, and justice, indispensable to their preservation, and which they could derive but from God only.

The right in the people to change an odious government, is incontestible ; and so, indeed, it must be, since the Allied Powers, on entering Paris, in 1814, had required, before explaining themselves, that France should declare her wish for the destruction of the most legitimate government that ever existed, and which only ceased so to be, when it put itself in opposition to the interests of France, and of all Europe. A noble and sublime homage rendered by enlightened sovereigns to the first principle on which social order is founded. Are not, moreover, the circumstances in which this principle could be acted upon, necessarily so rare in the actual state of civilization in Europe, that its abuse is not at all to be feared? If there were a people of sufficiently fickle and inconstant manners, to change the form of their government, and the dynasty of their princes, without the most

weighty reasons, and upon which the opinion of the people, and of the sovereigns, should already have been formed, all the states, of which they would thus proclaim themselves the common enemy, ought to arm themselves for the destruction of that people.

I only now speak of the rights of reason ; I pretend neither to justify, nor to define, those of violence, to which in the quarrels of the people, and of kings, recourse is but too often had. The experience which teaches us that a revolutionary spirit almost always takes its source in the refusal of the most just concessions, thus offers to enlightened princes all the means of preventing the contagious ravages, to which opposition is made too late, when time has been afforded that spirit to establish itself. There is no example of long oppression having ended without producing a violent explosion.

These evils could be easily averted by a wise foresight ; and the conservative principles by which all the cabinets of Europe (that of Spain excepted) are now penetrated, furnish, in this respect, the most just, as well as the most happy expectations. The governments every where discover their solicitude either to anticipate, or to further, the wishes of their people, and to profit themselves by the wisdom of the present age ; every where is seen tumbling down, piece by piece, the gothic edifice of the feudal system, the scattered materials of which some feeble hands vainly

attempt to retain and to collect ; every where representative systems raise themselves upon the ruins of despotism ; and even those amongst the European governments, whose topographical situation, and the less advanced ideas of their subjects, forbid the immediate grant of that great benefit—a constitutional and free system—slowly prepare, in silence, and by gradual measures, those wise ameliorations which ought to secure to them for ever their crowns and their houses.*

Are conspiracies heard of at St. Petersburg, at Vienna, at Brussels, at Berlin ? No other evils exist in some of those capitals than those consequent on a long and terrible war ; and if the people there wait with confidence the accomplishment of the generous designs of the monarchs for their happiness, will not the constancy, the loyal solicitude of these princes prove how far this confidence is well founded, as well as what expectations it may inspire ? It is by such means that true legitimacy discovers itself. It is not those sovereigns who are beloved and respected by

* I do not perceive how it would be possible that Europe and religion, (by which the legitimacy of Buonaparte had been so openly acknowledged, and which was certainly the most incontestible of all, since, in the course of ten years he had obtained the triple consecration of the Pope, of Kings, and of Peoples) should recognize to day any other principles of public right ! The enemy of Europe has justly fallen, but his power was not less legitimate than his fall.

their subjects ; who govern them with wisdom, prudence, and firmness ; who draw around them enlightened men, and often profit by their council, that are hurled with precipitation from their thrones. Experience, ever to be deplored, has proved, in our days, that the best of men are not always the best of kings.*

After such an explanation, I feel myself under no obligation to answer every objection which rests upon the basis I have just combated ; in all cases I have advanced personal opinions, purely speculative, and which can only be appreciated by enlightened men, of whom the public tranquillity, and the maintenance of established institutions, stand in the greatest need. I am convinced that it is impossible for any impartial mind not to acknowledge the truth of this : this truth rests on the strongest of all evidences—experience. The principle of hereditary succession, of the immutability of sovereigns, must be maintained, because essential to social order, and forms its most solid basis, and because millions of men have made laws only in the interest of certain families ; but to give to this principle a greater extent than actually belongs to it, would be to expose the necessity of examining its

* My intention is not doubtful in this mournful declaration, which truth draws from me. My devotedness to the unhappy Prince, of whom I speak, is sufficiently known, as well as my profound estimation for his memory.

origin. It was formerly a political axiom, and sacred amongst us, and with which our most illustrious christian orators have often caused the pulpit to resound. "That kings were made for the people—and not the people for kings."

Who, then, would dream of contesting the right of nations to change their dynasty? Was a single reclamation made in Europe against the revolution which seated the house of Brunswick on the British throne?

If the principles proclaimed to-day, existed only yesterday, and if commotion could overturn them to-morrow, to what respect would they be entitled? Why discuss a claim, which it is in the power of force to destroy, and which has but too often been destroyed? Let Kings be just, beloved, and powerful; let them rule only according to law, and their legitimacy will not be contested, because they will always be obeyed! Reason, liberty, the interests of the people, the passions of men, and the experience of ages, reject any other definition of legitimacy. I have made a profession of my political faith, and there is nothing in it that stands in opposition to the allegiance I have vowed to the philosophical Monarch who governs France.

I said, eighteen months since, that "if great faults should be committed, the blame could not be attributed

either to his head, or to his heart." I repeat this, since the ordonnance of the 5th of September, with more more force than ever. It was only by leading astray the superior mind of this Prince, that Councillors, unavoidably placed by blood around the throne, but without either experience or character, strangers for twenty-eight years to France, and deceived themselves, by ignorant and perfidious Courtesans, have induced him to commit, in his own name, the most inexcusable excesses.

From the moment when it was possible for a prudent and wise Ministry, but too long under the influence of an intolerant and disorganizing faction, to re-possession themselves, by a resolute hand, of the reins of State, which were endeavoured to be snatched from them, every thing wore a new aspect, and the avenues to the Throne were opened to truth ; from that moment also, all the wishes, all the expectations of France, at that time affrightened, began to attach themselves to the Monarch, and to his Government, and to identify themselves with their interests. Nevertheless, this sentiment, eminently French, and of which no one participates more than myself, shall not close my eyes on any of the great errors of the French Ministry, nor on the consequence which it is beyond the power of wisdom itself to prevent, but only to diminish. I have too much candour not to assign to the fury of events, and to the fatality of circumstances, that which it is impossible to avoid ; but

even this cession must have limits; and there are in the political, as well as in the moral world, points to which tolerance cannot extend itself, and to which Ministers, animated by a truly national spirit, should not, perhaps, ever accede.

This opinion, exclusively my own, may be combated, I admit, by the most solid arguments, if it is especially considered, that the third Ministry of the King, appeared only to have been brought into the Administration, but to reap from it the fatal heritage of the errors, and the inconceivable blindness of its predecessor, in the mode of the election of the second Chamber of Deputies.

Misfortune was at its highest pitch; it became necessary either to bend, for some moments, to the violence of the tempest, or to submit to be destroyed by it—the Ministers considered the former the most expedient. The conduct which from this moment they pursued, and from which, in spite of the attacks of their enemies, I am willing to acknowledge they did not depart, demonstrates that they were sincere, and that they sacrificed themselves to the true interests of their country. In expressing an opinion, perhaps severe, I am far from accusing them; but in yielding to disastrous circumstances, they have subjected themselves to just suspicions, which it appertains only to the future to remove.

I finished, in a short time, the arrangements which I had to make at Milan, and hastened to prosecute my journey, in respect to which, new motives of utility began to present themselves to my view. Chance discovered to me, at the Hotel de la Ville, at some paces from me, and in a state bordering on misery, a poor Priest of *la Trappe*, who, since the suppression of his order in the Roman States, had come to seek hospitality of one of his relatives at Milan, which had been afforded him, but which he renounced the moment he heard his order had been re-established, and that it was permitted to the ancient Ecclesiastics to come and resume their posts.

As the funds placed at the disposal of the Order, were, as yet, very inconsiderable, the Pontifical Government desired that only the most aged, the most necessitous, or the most infirm amongst the Ecclesiastics, should be admitted. Nothing amused me more than to hear the good father repeat to me, with the most affecting energy, and with a desire much more ardent to convince me, “ that he had a stronger claim
 “ than any body else to the munificence of the Holy
 “ Father ; that he had never been able to learn, or to do
 “ any thing ; that, in truth, he enjoyed the best state
 “ of health in the world, but that he was incapable
 “ of any description of work ; that he eat well when
 “ he had money, and begged when he had none, and
 “ that having none at the present moment, his place
 “ was necessarily in the streets, or in the convent.”

No answer could be made to this powerful argument ; I found it, indeed, so unanswerable, that I determined to give to this Ecclesiastic a place in my carriage as far as Rome, leaving him to defray on the road no other expence than that of his provisions, which the piety of the faithful almost always took care to furnish him gratuitously.

I cannot describe what delight I felt in again finding myself in this charming Italy ! I could, indeed, have wished, had it been in my power, to spend some time in the city where I had stayed some years since, in order to contemplate anew all that I had there admired. Each city brought back to me some recollection. I made arrangements to travel as little by night as possible, that I might see again all that I had seen before. I experienced a childish enjoyment in occupying, a second time, at the Inns, the rooms in which I had already slept, and to be recollected by the servants who had heretofore waited on me.

I never stopped but when indispensibly necessary ; the object of my voyage was of too pressing a nature to allow of my sacrificing it to personal enjoyments ; but I could not find it in me to pass through Florence without seeing the beautiful Marchioness of N....., as I had often done during my last stay in Tuscany, and who joins to all the grace, to all the coquetry, to all the finesse, of our most amiable

french ladies, that which I cannot describe *Italian*, so difficult to seize, so impossible to express, and which consists in the extreme liberty of manners.

I know not how the name of the Marchioness had escaped me in the second part of my memoirs; a thousand reasons render me inexcusable; she has only pardoned me on condition that I should never pardon myself. How, indeed, forget those charming evenings in which were assembled at her house, the most elegant and delightful society in Florence; this palace, those enchanting gardens, of which she is the possessor, and where nothing is seen so charming as herself, where we habitually walked, in the fine summer evenings, and where the illuminations, in variegated lamps, arranged with so much art and discretion, had reserved to solitude, assylums, into which the light could not penetrate.

I did not find at Florence that charming Countess M. ., whose master I had been in the art of swimming, and whose movements never were more graceful than when, renouncing all the principles of this perilous science, she adopted one of her own, in the manner of which, altogether new, she was not always successful. The Countess resided, at the time of my journey to Florence, on an estate situated at a great distance from that city; this was a great mortification to me, as I was thereby deprived of the pleasure of paying

for a visit, but I could not wander so far from my route.

A circumstance, amusing enough, rendered me very merry ; the road from Florence to Sienne, otherwise so fatiguing by the excessive slowness of the post, which, in these mountainous countries, could only go one pace :—it was a certain Captain Lombardi, who travelled in one of those vehicles which are met with on all the Italian roads, going a mule's pace, and over which, at that moment, my own had no advantage ; at all the stations on the road, when any one cast his eyes on the vehicle in which the Captain figured away, with peculiar self-consequence, he exclaimed, “ Do you not know me ? I am Captain Lombardi, son of Peter Lombardi, of Sienne, I am arrived from Russia, and return into my own country, look at me well do not you know me ? This scene, so original, continued all the day ; it was necessary to stop at night, the days being short, and the road somewhat dangerous. Then commenced a most pleasant dialogue between the Captain and my ecclesiastic of *La Trappe*.

The Captain was waggish, and made some very singular speeches, to which he endeavoured to oblige the Father to listen, and to which the other strove to turn a deaf ear. This lasted during the supper, which I invited them to take together, and they were the source of all the amusement I then enjoyed,

although I was decided not to let things go beyond the bounds of decency, or what the habits of the ecclesiastic would permit. Early the next morning we took our departure for Sienne ; the nearer the Captain approached his native city, the more he renewed his pathetic exclamations; at length we arrived, and the Captain, who, on entering the town, had collected, by his vociferations, every body passing, round his vehicle, took leave of us, but not without thanking me for the agreeable society I had afforded him on his journey from Florence ; it was, however rather incumbent on me to thank him for his, in doing which, I was not deficient. I do not remember to have ever laughed so heartily, but it would be unjust to omit my ecclesiastic in this tribute of gratitude ; although a *trappist* he was, in manners, a true jesuit, he lent himself with all the good grace in the world, and gave me no cause to repent, a single moment, unto our separation at Rome ; to which place I had undertaken to convey him.

If there was not from Florence to Rome a delightful road, across one of the most beautiful countries in the world, upon the declivity of the Apennines, by Arezzo, Peruggia, Spoleto, and Terni, I should conceive how it is possible for people to expose themselves in the barren and stoney mountains, where travelling commences on leaving Sienne, and in passing by Montaroni, Radicofani and Viterbe ; the two roads

meet at Montaroni, from whence to Rome, the ancient Roman road is not afterwards quitted.

On approaching Rome, at a distance of some miles, the *inania regna* of Virgil are involuntarily brought to mind. Nothing is seen in the most extended horizon that indicates being on the borders of that city, which has been called the Queen of the Earth. Rome is no longer the capital but of the desert ; the silence of this immense plain, where the wind of destruction appears to have blown from all quarters, is broken only by the frightful and common cries of some mournful birds ; the first monument which presents itself to the eyes of the traveller, fallen into deep meditations, is consecrated to death : it is the tomb of NERO ! It raises itself up only in the horror of solitude ; it appears that, after two thousand years, eternal justice designed to replace the destructor of men in the middle of his empire.

My imagination was forcibly struck with this spectacle, and at this time I paid very little attention to the narrative of the good father, who, in a most solemn tone, incessantly entertained me with I do not know what miracle was performed between fifty and sixty years ago, in a deserted chapel, which is seen at some paces from the monument. I was so absorbed in reflection, that I found myself under the walls of Rome, while I thought I was yet at a considerable distance from it.

Deep meditation had seized all my senses. I fancied I saw wandering around about me the ghosts of the ancient Romans ; nothing could remove from me the illusion, not even that multitude of Ecclesiastics, of all colours, of all costumes, belonging to orders which would be thought to have been for ever extinct, and which were seen to spring up again on all sides. I was grieved to find the day close, the return of which I awaited with so much impatience, that it was impossible for me to enjoy any repose during a night, which appeared to me eternal. My thoughts were only occupied with what I was about to see ; and for the first time, since the commencement of my journey, my ideas took, for some moments, another course ; nevertheless, I continually felt that the admiration bestowed on those who have done great things, augments the desire which one experiences to undertake them himself!

The different feelings which agitated me, in finding myself in the middle of that city, of which the name had sounded in my ears, almost from the cradle, bore no resemblance to those I had before experienced in my travels. I thought myself transported into the ideal regions ; the fables of the foundation of the eternal city mingled themselves in my imagination with the most authentic facts of its history. I gave myself up to every impression without attempting to define any one ; the confusion in my ideas was, perhaps, greater than that in my sentiments ; I knew

not how to begin examining that which I desired with so much earnestness; my impatience accused the general stupidity of *Cicerone*, who was my guide. I wished to be every where at once, and I felt myself singularly pressed by the little time I had to dispose of. I had indispensable visits to make, it was therefore necessary to resolve to take only a very cursory glance at so many marvellous things; It was in this manner I run over the *Collisæum*, the *Rotunda*, the *Capitol*, the ancient palace of the Emperors. . . . *St. Peter's*, in fine, the modern *chef d'œuvre*, which I could not sufficiently admire, but of which all the magnificence is, in my opinion, effaced, by one of the many recollections which arise on all sides round about it.

I found again at Rome the Prince Gieust. . . . and the Marquis Mass. . . ., whom I had intimately known at Paris. I again saw, above all, with peculiar pleasure, Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, of whom I have often spoken in the second part of this work, and whose style of living at Rome was as dignified as it was simple. Some prejudices aside, from which, in misfortune, and when placed so far from events, it is difficult to preserve one's-self, his way of judging on the affairs of Europe, and especially on those of France, appeared to me to be as correct as moderate.

He has, undoubtedly, been judged of with too

much severity, in accusing him for the part he took in the late events. From the moment I saw him at Rome, I was enabled to foresee that, in case France should one day become a prey to fresh commotions, the object of which should be to give a political existence to his house, the design of Lucien was not to remain an idle spectator. He impatiently sustained the state of disgrace into which the pride and the folly of Bonaparte had precipitated his family ; his sole desire appeared to me to be, to see this Prince one moment re-established on his throne, in order shortly after to make a voluntary abdication, which should place the crown on the head of his son, and the regency in the hands of Maria Louisa.

This political system, to which the great faults of the royal Government attached daily in France numberless partizans, was not only excusable, but was even a duty in a brother ; and if I had not foreseen in its execution, Bonaparte always master of the state, I should have embraced it without hesitation ; with a man of his character there was nothing to hope, after having promised every thing, he would have deceived every body.

I shall return to this subject when I shall speak of the three months during which he occupied the throne ; and I will prove, by facts, what I intend to advance. But it is, especially here, important

to change nothing in the chronological order of events.

The position of Lucien Bonaparte at Rome was very embarrassing. He owed much to the Pope, who treated him very well, but he was brother in law to the King of Naples, whose discussions with the court of Rome assumed daily a more serious aspect. Until then, he had acted the noble, but difficult part, of a conciliator, and had become, in some sense, the arbiter in their discussions ; but the period now drew nigh when all negotiations would terminate, and the continuance of his residence at Rome be altogether impossible.

I took my departure from Rome, on the 12th January, after having observed all the necessary formalities at the Consuls' of the King of Naples, to insure my passage over the frontiers without interruption. I there left my ecclesiastic ; we separated, each being satisfied with the other. He had the promise of being admitted into the Convent ; he went, indeed, there, to bury himself alive, having no other amusement than that of rising, in all seasons, at midnight, and at four o'clock in the morning, to chant in the cloister, after having gone to bed at eight o'clock, and only taken for sustenance some vegetables boiled in water ; but he had nothing else to do, and could sleep the whole of the day besides. He was in the extacy of happiness and gratitude when he bid me an

eternal adieu, it not being probable that we are destined ever to see each other again. He had solicited and obtained, as the greatest of blessings, a decree for an eternal imprisonment. He was shocked at the very idea of gaining a livelihood by labour, and could not reconcile this at all with social order, but in supposing that it was now lawful to beg.

This account will, perhaps, with difficulty be believed, but nevertheless I affirm that I have done less than exaggerate it. If I had put together all the facts which the voyage furnished, it is certain that the reader would have taken the whole for a fable.

It was with regret that I saw my carriage make progress in the midst of the immense plain about Rome, so fruitful with grand recollections; where, on all sides, monuments spring up, of which the greater part almost entirely destroyed, no longer present to the traveller but scattered posts, which serve to direct his course over these august ruins.

I arrived in the evening at Velletri, where I stopped, in order not to be at night in the pontine marshes, continually infested by hands of robbers, in spite of the extreme activity of the pontifical government, who keep in this city, and at Terracine, (the extreme boundary of its dominions); armed men, who, for a trifling remuneration, which travellers voluntarily

give them, escort, on horseback, their carriages, to the end of the marshes.

I experienced some difficulty on the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, where the inspectors were most rigorous and active. Travellers were not allowed to carry letters into the interior of the kingdom; but were compelled to put them into the post office; the precaution in this respect was extreme; it was carried much too far, and bordered on tyranny. I was at a loss to discover the object of this excessive severity.

I used the greatest exertions in the world to prevent the sacrifice of the letters with which I was charged; notwithstanding they were addressed to the King, the Queen, one of the ministers, and to some of the nobility of the kingdom; and when it was at last decided by the military police of the post office, that I should not be deprived of them, an express was sent on before me, to communicate the intelligence at Naples, of the arrival of a foreign gentleman, the bearer of letters for persons, beginning with the King, whose names, situation, and address were given, with the most scrupulous care.

Such precaution appeared to me to be no less capricious than useless: I expressed my astonishment at it, and was answered, "that since the discussions which had arisen between the two courts, (the ser-

“vice of the post having been interrupted by the effect of mutual hatred,) it was discovered that the correspondence had been carried on by the intervention of travellers, and that the treasury having thereby been deprived of a considerable part of its revenue, it became necessary to exercise the greatest severity, in order to put a stop to this new species of smuggling.”

I recognized there, as every where else, the prodigious fertility of financial ideas ; which, for a few moments, was a source of grief to me ; but what reflections, and what sorrow, could resist the aspect of this enchanting country, which is protected by a sky always serene, and where one travels in the midst of the sweetest perfumes, through forests of orange and lemon trees, under bowers of vines, which unite themselves together by garlands, and give to the high road which leads from Capoue to Naples, a degree of beauty, which inspires the breast of the most melancholy traveller with delightful and cheering sensations.

The entrance into Naples, when I arrived there, was still by a narrow faubourg, between two hills ; the houses, which are built without either elegance or regularity, present a miserable aspect, and bear some semblance to the entrance into Paris, by the Faubourg of St. Marceau. At that time an opening was making, by order of the King, for a new

entrance, worthy so great a capital, on the left of the Champ de Mars, a short distance from the road. From this elevated spot, where one arrives all on a sudden, you are struck with a most delightful scene. On the left, is seen Mount Vesuvius, which commands and threatens Portici, La Torre del Greco, the ruins of Pompeia. (which, after nineteen ages, spring out of the earth, there probably again to return) and this vast flat, which extends to the view of Naples, as far as Castellamare.

In front, the horizon is bounded by the island of Caprea, the name of which the third Roman Emperor has assigned to an ignominious immortality; in fine, on the right, and half way, majestically rises the city of Naples, on the declivity of a mountain, crowned by the castle which defends it.

I have been assured by those who have seen Constantinople, that the view of the Bosphorus, taken on the top of the Seragliö, is only to be compared to that which presents itself from the heights of the Champ de Mars at Naples. The most brilliant imagination can figure it to itself but imperfectly, and is incapable of being at one and the same instant struck with all the immense details of this admirable scene, and uniting them in one great whole. I was so impressed with it, that I ordered the carriage to stop; and not being able to descend into the city by this road, which was not opened till a month afterwards,

I continued to gaze on a prospect, the magnificence of which surpassed all the ideas I had ever been able to form of it. I recovered myself, however, from the intoxication into which I was plunged ; it was half past three o'clock in the afternoon ; the azure of the Heavens was not obscured by a single cloud ; the sun was in all his brightness ; never was there a finer or a more delightful day in the spring, although it was only the 15th January ; it was necessary to remember this ; the day was declining, and I had still a league to go before reaching the hotel where I intended to lodge.

This hotel was situated in the place called *Largo del Castello*. I did not find there all the conveniences to which we are accustomed in France ; nothing, however, indispensibly necessary was wanting ; thus for example, I had no fire-place, and did not notice this. In some of the coldest days in winter charcoal was put into a brazier, and the heat of my room became almost insupportable ; there every thing is done to exclude the heat, but nothing to keep out the cold ; I entered into a new mode of life : I already experienced all the influence of this climate, so mild, and which presents in one spot in Europe, the temperature of the colonies, and only differs from them in that the hospitality it affords to strangers, and to travellers, is unaccompanied by any of the dangers, to which, under the torrid zone of the two Indies, the lives of Europeans are continually exposed.

I caused the letters with which I was charged to be delivered immediately after my arrival; and after having written a note to that minister of the King, to whom I had been more particularly recommended, and having received his reply, I waited on him the same evening. My intention was to deliver myself the letters addressed to the King and the Queen, but on the observation of the Minister "that the contents
 "of these letters might be important, and that he
 "must first receive the orders of the King to communicate to me the time, when his Majesty should be
 "pleased to receive me," I had no hesitation in intrusting them to him; the less so, as long experience, by which I had but seldom been deceived, allows me not to mistake certain impressions in physiognomy; and I thought I discovered, at once, an embarrassment in the countenance of the minister, and very little eagerness to obtain me a first interview with the King.

Some days elapsed without receiving any answer; I did not again solicit one, but waited; at length a footman brought to me, on the evening of the 19th, a note from the private secretary, announcing that the King would receive me the next day, the 20th. at eleven in the morning. The minister, on his part made a similar communication to me, offering to introduce me. I did not think proper to accept his proposition, and went immediately to the King.

I was shewn into his bed chamber, where he did not keep me long in waiting. This first reception has inspired me with the most sweet and grateful recollection.

He testified very much pleasure in seeing me, expressed the most lively desire to attach me to his service, and assured me, with perfect kindness and condescension “ that he felicitated himself on the resolution I had taken, to come and seek an asylum in his dominions; that from that moment that asylum was assured to me; and that he would do every thing in his power to render me as useful as agreeable; that the misfortunes of my situation were perfectly well known to him, that he would use all his endeavours to soften them, and obliterate their recollection

I cannot allow myself here to recollect all which this Prince voluntarily added, at this interview, that was gracious, and far too flattering for me; I was almost overwhelmed with tears by it; he had not forgotten our interview of 1814, under the walls of Plaisance; and I thought I perceived that the discourse I then addressed to him in those cruel circumstances, had left in his breast deep impressions, the remembrance of which was not painful to him. In deploring with me, the disastrous results of our divisions; he attributed all their origin to the excess of ambition, pride, and insupportable despotism.

How was it possible for me to combat ideas with which I was myself so deeply penetrated ? He spoke of the campaign of 1814, and of the necessity in which he found himself to join his armies to those of the allies, in order to preserve his political existence and his own dominions ; and in making an acknowledgement of this imperious necessity, his eyes were filled with tears. He vowed execration to the moment when he had fought against the French, and believed himself compelled, in order to justify himself in his own eyes, to bring to my recollection all the injustice, and all the humiliation which, for years past, he invariably experienced from Bonaparte. His grief was heart-rending ; I found it to be so sincere, and so great, that I only thought of diverting, by other objects, his attention from a subject to which he incessantly recurred ; he appeared to take pleasure in laying open all his soul to a Frenchman, who knew at once how to appreciate his injuries, his resentments, and his regrets.

This was the sole conversation in which the King, during the two months I remained at Naples, expressed himself with so much detail and frankness, on the events which had determined his anterior conduct. I thought that it was his intention to make himself acquainted with me all at once, in order that I might converse with him with the greater freedom. In the numerous audiences which he gave me daily since this epoch, and in which he always testified un-

limited confidence in me, he touched but incidentally, and with apparent regret, on the subject of our first conversation.

It should have been thought that he would once and for ever have relieved himself from the weight of an inward burden, by disclosing it, in all its details, to a faithful friend. I have since known, that on many occasions, previous to my arrival at Naples, this Prince had considered it requisite, and a duty, to explain his antecedent conduct to a great many Frenchmen, who had visited his dominions ; but I never learned that he entered into the details of a multitude of particular facts, which he communicated to me, and which he frequently expressed his wish should not be made public. I have complied with, I will comply with, his intentions in this respect ; perhaps I shall find other means enough to justify his memory.

No one has forgotten, that on the termination of the violent altercations which took place between Bonaparte and the King of Naples, in Germany, the former issued an Order of the Day, very insulting to his brother-in-law, by which, in doing justice to Prince Eugene, (which, in every point of view, was due to him, and was contested by no body,) he endeavoured to degrade, without any delicacy, the ancient companion in his labours, and one of the instruments which most materially contributed to his glory.—

When, after that blow, and on the same day, the King of Naples saw Bonaparte, and demanded of him the cause of a proceeding, so offensive and so extraordinary, he obtained no other answer than the following :—" I know what are your designs and
 " pretensions ; but whatever may be the hopes you
 " build on the present state of my affairs, perhaps
 " it will shortly be less difficult for me to dethrone
 " you, than it was to raise you to the throne."

From that moment King Joachim, who had already been well informed of the basis on which Bonaparte had opened some negotiations with the Allies, and could not be ignorant that one of the conditions was the formal abandoning of his brother-in-law, easily saw that he was sacrificed, and could not regard, as a vain menace, a proposition, the necessary and approaching consequences of which every thing conspired to demonstrate.

He then departed, but not until after having well ascertained that his own dominions were exposed to invasion ; that his presence in them was indispensibly necessary ; and that he should uselessly devote himself to him, who, after having been the means of his elevation, was about to effect his ruin—in whose mind every consideration of foresight, and of justice, was without weight—who had just refused propositions yet glorious ; in one word, to the eternal enemy of peace and of Europe. Nevertheless the King did

not consider himself released from him, either in duty, or in gratitude.

Scarcely had this prince arrived in his own states, (the repose of which he had secured, and established in them commercial relations) when he communicated to the Allies, " his firm resolution to separate his " cause from that of Bonaparte ; that he could not " restrain himself from writing to his brother-in-law, " to announce this ; that he was ready to devote him- " self still to defend the Italian monarchy, of which " the siege was at Milan ; but that he desired this " charge to be entrusted solely to him."

Bonaparte, who saw in this proposition nothing but fresh perfidy on the part of the King of Naples, in order thereby to acquire the domination of all Italy, deigned to make no answer to his letter. Better enlightened since, as to the projects of the king, and the events of the campaign, the whole direction of which would thus have been changed, Bonaparte denied that this letter had ever reached him ; and when, in opposition to this false denial, evidence, and the living witness, who delivered the letter to him, were offered, he observed silence, and changed the subject.

I have asserted too much candour in these memoirs to conceal the faults of the unfortunate prince, whose defence I would not undertake at the expence of

truth. Endowed with a soul the most affectionate, and a mind the most penetrating, although by no means cultivated, the firmness of his character was far from corresponding with the vigour of his courage.

Brought up a soldier, he had received, in his early days, but a very superficial education, which he only began to improve on his being raised to the dignity of Grand Duke of Berg. His experience, and his knowledge of affairs, had singularly disclosed these happy qualities. I had some opportunities of seeing, and conversing with him at this epoch ; his ideas were then about to fix themselves ; in general, they were correct, but they had not erudition for their basis. When I saw him at Naples, he was no longer the same man ; his understanding was enlightened ; his views were extended ; his judgment was formed ; but character, which sometimes modifies itself, though never changes, continued the same ; wishing to avoid the excess of pride and insolence, from which his just and clear-sighted mind preserved him, this Prince sometimes fell into that of a misplaced familiarity. In the most important circumstances, even when his honour and his life were at stake, his resolutions wanted stability, as all Europe might have discovered from the campaign of Italy in 1813 and 1814.

When his deepest interests attached him to the

cause of the Allies, all his regrets, almost all his wishes, were for France ; the foreign Ministers, and Generals often witnessed his indecision, and perceived in it cause for the most lively alarm, at the moment, even, when the French made to resound against him in all Italy, and even unto his own camp, cries of accusation and of vengeance.

The manner in which Viscount Castlereagh expressed himself in the British House of Commons, is not forgotten. If ever that, which has not yet been shewn to me, should be demonstrated by indisputable evidence—viz. that the project of dethroning the King of Naples was seriously discussed in the foreign Cabinets, I have no doubt it took its birth from that epoch. I have often induced this Prince to listen to some serious reflections on this subject, the justice and consequences of which, he fully acknowledged, and did not even endeavour to justify himself ; he acknowledged himself to be no less culpable towards the Allies, than towards France herself, and was again involved in all his perplexities.

It was as painful, as necessary, to enter into this discussion, which will throw light on all the facts with which I shall have to entertain my readers, and will convey, in giving a just idea of the character of the King, fresh information on that crowd of conflicting events which succeeded each other during the last

eighteen months, and which terminated in a catastrophe, most frightful, and most alarming.

The farther I advance in these memoirs, the more I feel the difficulty, always arising, not to separate what is true, from what is becoming. At every step I feel myself retained by considerations of a different nature ; if I should yield to any one of them, I must confine myself to absolute silence ; almost all the interests of which I treat, are yet in existence ; all have claims to reserve, without doubt ; but truth has also its claims, and I shall never be reproached for having neglected them ; it is not in the power of any one to conceal events known to all Europe ; but what is essentially important, is, to know the causes in which those events originated ; by which they have been rendered unavoidable ; and of which the public opinion, so slow to forgive, so ready to condemn, seldom renders an impartial and faithful account.

In the first interview which I had with the King, his mind was so absorbed with the events anterior to the War of Italy, that he engrossed the conversation, and had so completely astounded me, that, even when the idea occurred to me of speaking to him of the injurious suspicions, which had been entertained against him at Milan, and which I had elsewhere made known, I doubted whether I should have chosen this moment for speaking of them. Nevertheless, it was

of much importance for his reputation, and for the success of his future plans, that he should be made acquainted with them, and remove, in this respect, even the slightest prejudice.

This was a delicate point to touch upon; no man ought to be humiliated, even in his own interests, because the highest interest is honor; but here all considerations united themselves; it was necessary to speak, even at the risk of displeasing. I easily discovered, by the first words I hazarded, that in none of my conjectures was I deceived.

Scarcely had I made myself understood, when his first word was, "it is horribly revolting: you, no doubt, do not believe it." I tranquillized him, not only in respect to myself, but in reference to all the persons to whom his character was known; and who, in fact, had repelled this odious calumny, with all the indignation which it merited. Unfortunately, these were not the greater number; and if some distinguished men had done justice to the King, it is but too true, that the public, who, since the last campaign, had retained against him the most bitter animosities, (now only spoken of with horror), and lavished on him the most odious epithets. I perceived that my frankness, though indispensable, had deeply wounded the pride of rank; I paid attention to the physiognomy of the King: it became gloomy and concentrated; it was easy to discover that some thing extraordinary

passed within him; that impressions were made on him which he strove to conceal, and that he was far from being so inwardly tranquil as he affected to appear, although he involuntarily betrayed, by some things he said, the secret agitation of his mind.

At length, after having observed silence for some moments, he broke it by saying, "that his conscience placed him above so base a suspicion; that he had no doubt persons, interested in his losing the esteem of the Italians, had circulated and accredited such reports, in the design of awakening against him all distrust, and thereby rendering impracticable for the future the execution of the generous projects which he had conceived for the independence of Italy."

We were perfectly agreed in this opinion, which was completely my own; it was now necessary to send secret agents to Milan, whose discretion and intelligence could be relied on, in order to explain the facts; to remove the mischievous impressions which had been made; and to renew the assurances of the sentiments and the dispositions of the King. This plan was no sooner conceived than executed; and we learned, in a few days, that its success had exceeded our hopes.

It is not expected of me, without doubt, to enter hereinto the detail of all, which from that time was

preparing to insure the success of a most extensive, as well as a most hazardous enterprize ; much less still, that I should make known the generous men, who, regardless of danger, hazarded all, for the glory of co-operating in it. I have announced that some of them were arrested at Milan. I ought to render this justice to the Austrian government, that, in the support of its interest, it prescribed only such rigours as were indispensable, whereas it might have mistaken, at least, the intentions of those whose projects were no longer concealed from it. Busily occupied with its just defence, it perceived that, in adopting some measures of severity, essential to its own preservation, it was above all things wise not to resort to proscription.

The effect of this moderate proceeding, was such as might have been expected from it ; the public mind was insensibly calmed ; and I have no doubt that an issue, so happy for the house of Austria, of the events of the campaign of 1815, was, for the greater part, the result of the wisdom and the moderation of the measures which she adopted at that epoch. Many other causes afterwards contributed, without doubt, to this result ; but the effervescence of the public mind was no longer the same ; and already the evils of a new war, undertaken, even for the most just cause, presented themselves to their imaginations.

Although well convinced that the political events which have changed the face of Italy, belong, at this moment, to history ; that uncontrolled liberty should exist in the judgements of those who treat of them ; that even this liberty is in the interests of the governments who control it—the period is not yet arrived to throw a new light on every thing that relates to individuals, inasmuch as the passions of individuals long survive those of governments ! Italy, although tranquil, is far from being united ; for a long time the recollections and the hopes of glory will not there be extinct ; mutual and recriminating accusations will there fall, for a great number of years, on the heads of persons equally respectable. The motives which have induced me, in the second part of this work, to observe silence in regard to men, to whose names the revolution had given a celebrity, too frequently culpable, and ever unfortunate, exist in this place much more powerfully, since a great number of those generous men, who attempted, with as much courage as short-sightedness, to arm themselves in 1815, still exist ; and since in an august, but lost cause, irritating remembrances would only be awakened for the conquered, without glory to the conquerors.

Scarcely a day passed without the arrival at Naples of couriers, or delegates, from Rome, from Bologna, from Milan, and from a great number of other

cities in Italy. Each of them in adhering to the general wish for the independence, the union, and the establishment of a constitutional and representative government, had his particular pretensions, and demanded a municipal administration, and the preservation of some of their rights or privileges. Nothing was better calculated to excite enthusiasm than the reading of these addresses, which breathed the most pure love of liberty, and which so little resembled those insipid, or raving harangues, with which, heretofore, the National Convention in France resounded.—Every thing contained in the addresses to the King had been well digested, reflected on, and weighed; liberty having no other voice than that of reason and of order.

There were in Italy, as every where else, extravagant minds, roaming without bounds, who only saw liberty in the absolute destruction of the social edifice, such as it then existed, but without acknowledging that which was excusable, and even honourable, in the errors of some amongst them! The King, who, I have elsewhere said, possessed naturally a just and penetrating mind, dwelt only on those ideas, on which the popular opinion had been declared with the greatest unanimity; thus he rejected, without examining, and in spite of the opinion of some amongst those, in whom he placed great confidence, the projects of a partial rising, which would only tend, without accomplishing any

object, to sacrifice those madmen, who should attempt it, and which, in any point of view, that could possibly be taken of it, presented inconveniences much more serious than the advantages would be great, which its most ardent partizans could promise to themselves.

This plan was therefore altogether abandoned ; it was decided that in lieu of it, should be substituted that of the military and successive occupation of all the towns, which, at the approach of the Independent army, would openly declare their adhesion to its principles, and, by the wish of the great majority of the population, send Commissioners to its chief ; thus would all proceed with regularity ; order would every where be succeeded by order ; and Italy would have passed, without experiencing the chances of a bloody revolution, under new institutions.

The Senate, which was to be held at Rome, and to which all the cities were to send deputies, was to be the capital of the kingdom. General Governments were to have been established at Turin, at Milan, at Florence, and at Naples ; each of these cities was to have united to these advantages, that of being the chief place of various great establishments ; all the local interests were to have been consulted in this vast system ; and already the most important enquiries had been transmitted to the King from all parts, by the most enlightened Inhabitants of Italy.

I shall be pardoned for again taking a gloomy view of these remembrances. It is proper to explain, before re-commencing the narration of facts, some of the causes which presented insurmountable obstacles to the execution of these great designs. The first was, in the personal character of the King; in the inconsistency in his ideas; in the want of secrecy in his measures; in the indiscreet menaces, which Austria appeared some times not to hear, but against which, even in appearing to disclaim them, she long since took precaution; and in the obstinate opposition of some of his councillors, more particularly honoured with his confidence, who, fearing, in hazarding all, to lose all, informed the Austrian minister what passed in the Council relative to the system, which they endeavoured to combat.

After some discussions of this nature, I frequently found the King, on whom I waited in his apartments, uneasy, uncertain, and almost timid, although I had left him the preceeding day more firm than ever.

This state of mind was sometimes produced by the most trivial circumstances—a word from his ministers at Vienna, relative to the dispositions of the congress towards him; a letter from the Emperor of Austria changed all his intentions; he had himself a propensity to trust to good faith; he often complained to the Austrian Minister that he found none in the cabinet of Vienna; he became unjust, because he was

unhappy; and on all occasions he allowed his projects to be penetrated into. I have often had occasion to make this observation to him, but he was deeply wounded by it; it grieved him to the heart to imagine that he possessed but little of that first quality of a statesman—the art of keeping his own counsel; I have more than once sacrificed to him, in this respect, my frankness, because I was convinced it only wounded, without serving him.

The other cause of the ill success of the plan, formed for the independence of Italy, was, in my opinion, still much more serious; inasmuch as the king, who would not easily allow the illusions of self-love to be destroyed, was always unwilling to admit their existence.

The first campaign of the Neapolitan army in Upper Italy; the undisciplined state of that army; their exactions, violences, and excesses of every kind, had rendered his name odious amongst all the people in the Roman states, in Tuscany, and in the Duchies of Parma and of Placentia, where the army was to traverse in marching to the Po. Bologna and its territory alone, generously sacrificed to independence and liberty, the just animosities which the conduct of the Neapolitan army, in their fields, and under their walls, had produced. These painful recollections, by no means obliterated in all hearts, were awakened, with force, at the moment of tak-

ing up arms, damped the zeal, and chilled the energy of those who had embraced, with the greatest enthusiasm, the cause of independence. A long time elapsed in the expectation of its being proclaimed by the King ; a constitution was wished for, and it was equally desired that in that constitution all Italy should be embraced. The Italians, with sentiments of pride, as noble as legitimate, required, with reason, that the colours of the army should be those of independence, and not those of Naples. The King promised this, but he hesitated ; he loved liberty, but the very great danger of granting it was incessantly pointed out to him ; a thousand times I have combatted these fears ; but when overcome by force of arguments, a hundred times repeated, and to which he found it impossible to make me a reply, he exclaimed, “ but consider, then, that these are Neapolitans ! ”

“ Yes, Sire,” replied I, with a degree of warmth which he always forgave “ these are Neapolitans, I acknowledge ; but did not Bonaparte always say, *these are Frenchmen* ? they are not ripe for liberty. This word, Sire, is the common excuse of all tyranny ; France has been the example and the victim of it for twenty-two years past. Your Majesty will attach neither to your name, nor to your reign, a similar opprobrium. Every day your Majesty receives new entreaties from the generals of your army ; how will your Majesty venture to speak of the liberty of Italy, since you will be seen to march at the head of an army of slaves ?

I did not exaggerate, the King listened to me, and assured me that he had already given orders for a commission to be formed, and that it should occupy itself with the preliminary business of the constitution.

This commission was composed of a very few persons ; I recollect only one of them ; he was one of the ministers of the King ; and his was precisely the business in which there was the least dispatch. There is, invariably, between ministers and liberty, at all times, and in all countries, a sort of antipathy, naturally enough to be excused ; they, indeed, make an effort, when constitutional laws are established, to govern, in their name, with the best possible grace ; but, to charge them with the introduction of them in a country, where they had not an existence prior to themselves, and to require them to be the first to set the example of obedience and of submission, is, unquestionably, a task, which demands the entire acquiescence of the mind, and which few of them are capable of performing. Nevertheless, circumstances became pressing ; the constitution did not advance ; and the acclamations of the chiefs of the army, always the most imperious, sometimes assumed too bold a character, and had already inspired the King with some alarm ; when at last he directed that the labours of the commission should be laid before him the next day, and that the council should forthwith proceed to the discussion of the constitution itself, and the means

of presenting it for the acceptation of the People, and for that of the Sovereign.

In the midst of so much important, and often laborious business, I employed my leisure time in making frequent excursions in the environs of Naples. I twice attempted to go to the top of Vesuvius ; the excessive fatigue I experienced, after having passed the hermitage, by sinking in the cinders, compelled me to stop every quarter of an hour to fetch breath, and totally discouraged me. The prospect from the top of the mountain, could not have offered any thing more beautiful than did the point where I had stationed myself: the obstacles which the running down of the cinders presented to me, in the second attempt I made to reach the summit, were such as made me for ever despair of arriving at it.

It was to Pompeia, above all, above every thing, to which my reflections, were more particularly directed. I have passed hours together sitting on its ruins, drawn, after so many ages, from the bowels of the earth, and exposed to open view. I believe I remained a quarter of an hour at least in each of the houses of Pompeia ; I painted to myself the distribution of it ; I became its true proprietor ; I devoted myself with a scrupulous regard to all the details ; I admired those paintings, whose brilliant colours, buried in ashes for eighteen centuries, appeared to have come only yes-

terday out of the hands of the artist; but whose lustre a new and afflicting experience had just demonstrated could not resist the first effects of the air.

It is said that some artists have been charged with the care of preserving these ancient master-pieces of elegance and of grace; but their efforts have not hitherto been crowned with any success. There are now at Rome, in the baths of Livia, some of these paintings in Fresco, so much the more marvellously preserved, as the vaults are very humid; but those which have recently been discovered at Pompeia, have all the freshness of a modern composition, and thus exhibit the most striking contrast with the immensity of ruins which surround them, and of which they form a part. Vesuvius, which commands this exhibition, appears from its double summit, again to menace its victim. The aspect of the sea, which, in former times, washed the walls of Pompeia, but which now is at a great distance from it, adds to the majesty of the recollections of this silent spectacle.

In casting the eye over the promontory of Misenum, the memory is refreshed, that it was upon that shore the elder Pliny, insensible to the care of his own preservation, regardless of the counsel of his family, and exclusively occupied with the progress of science, and with finishing his observations on the dreadful phenomena which plunged Pompeia into

the bowels of the earth, lost, at the same instant, his life in the midst of the clouds of flames which filled the air.

In recollecting all the impressions which forcibly enter his mind, the traveller believes himself to be one of the witnesses, and almost one of the victims, of that terrific convulsion of nature. It is impossible to see re-united all around him, more objects of deep meditation; before such a spectacle, how insignificant and miserable are the greatest calculations of human ambition ! The mind is fatigued in extending itself; the soul, overpowered with sensations, sinks into nothing under the weight of the impressions with which it is loaded.

I shall here make a reflection, which will probably be called fantastic, but which has too often presented itself to me not to give it a place in my memoirs :—it is, that in nothing am I so unsuccessful, after having occupied myself with discussions on Politics, or of public interest, as in directing my attention to these inexplicable mysteries of nature, which, leading back the mind, by a train of necessary consequences, to things intellectual, fill it exclusively with pious meditation, and leave no further room for so many interests, almost always contemptible, and very frequently odious, of which the glory of the people is the dazzling pretext, and their misery the ordinary result.

My journeys out of the city did not form my sole recreations. I heard almost daily at the Theatre Royal of St. Charles, at the equally Royal Theatre of Fondo, and at the two Theatres of the second order, (where they were not so well executed; but where they were always repeated) those admirable master-pieces, which my stay in Italy had rendered so familiar to me, and which since that epoch had become my first enjoyment, and, to me, almost one of the necessities of life.

I have mentioned in the second part of these memoirs, after having criticised the beautiful Halls at Milan and at Turin, that I should reserve myself to speak of that at Naples, after the new journey which I intended to take in Italy. The Hall of St. Charles, such as I saw it, no longer exists; but as it is said that the one which has just replaced it, is built in the same proportion, and on the same plan, I shall confine myself to giving an idea of the former, which will be a description of that which has just been finished.

The Theatre of St. Charles was, undoubtedly, the finest, the largest, and the most imposing in Europe. Two years ago were removed, without any one knowing why, the glasses which were placed at the back of the boxes, and which, when the Hall, according to an Italian expression, was illuminated, as at mid-day, produced a truly magic effect. The build-

ing altogether was as regular as it was magnificent. The grand Hall of the Chateau of Versailles gives some idea of it.

The six rows of Boxes, were not, as at Milan, hid, at pleasure, by curtains: they were visible to the public from all parts; a rich and elegant chandelier shed forth a most brilliant light. The dimensions of this Theatre are perhaps without a parallel, and the extensive machinery employed in it is much superior to, and less dangerous, in its use, than that at Milan; this art had been brought to great perfection by some Neapolitan mechanics. Duport and Henry then contended for the sceptre in the dance, and very shortly afterwards, some disputes having arisen between the two rivals, Duport departed for Vienna, and Henry reigned alone. Madam Colbran, whom I had long since heard at Turin, was then the first singer in the Theatre of St. Charles, or rather she was the only one; for all the rest were in the extreme of mediocrity. Particular reasons, and of which the public have no ground to complain, will probably for ever retain this singer at the Theatre of Naples; there might be more flexibility and more variety in her manner, and more ease and more grace in her form, but it would be impossible to find a finer, a more extended and a more melodious voice, a style more beautiful and majestic. She combines with all these qualities that which, in my opinion, surpasses all the rest: the talent of the actress which, in general, is

but little appreciated in Italy, but which I remarked, with pleasure, when I habitually saw Madam Colbran at Turin, that she uniformly made it a particular study. Madam Colbran is not well known in the North of Europe, she having but once travelled there ; thus she is much less spoken of than Madam Sessi, who was a long while her rival at Turin, and whose talents, without injustice, cannot be denied. Nevertheless, I have only given my own opinion, in which I the more persist, inasmuch as I have since seen Madam Sessi at London and at Paris, and without any cause to alter my judgment respecting these two singers.

The Carnival of 1815 was brilliant. Although the minds of the Court were very much occupied with events supposed to be at hand, a profound secrecy (which, nevertheless, was but too often disclosed by the ill humour of the King and the indiscretions, of which I have elsewhere spoken) enveloped them still. I took but very little part in these amusements, for I had neither time nor inclination. All that I wished was once to see the effect produced at the Theatre by the mid-day illumination, of which I had so often heard. I found it astonishing, although, without doubt, it must have been much more so when the glasses, placed at the back of the boxes, reflected without limits, the light of some thousands of the wax candles which illuminate the Hall to the very summit. I had seen the same exhibition at Turin, and

was much struck with it : I was much more so with that which the theatre of St. Charles, more extended, in all its proportions, (the round form of which was more elegant ; and the ornaments, although equally rich with gold, were nevertheless lighter and more graceful) presented.

I had formed so little acquaintance at Naples, that a masked ball could not then be the source of very great pleasure to me ; overcome with heat, I left for some moments my mask in the box, when the King, masked, and walking about the hall, in company only with the Prince T*** perceived me, came up to me, and entered into conversation. I knew some of his ministers, some of his generals, some of the great personages of his Court, and some of the officers of his guard ; but I had never had a sufficiently intimate acquaintance with any one of them to imagine who he could be that thus distinguished me. The mask spoke to me of Naples, of my excursions, of the private employment of part of my time, and finished by discovering himself to me by mentioning Paris. I answered him laughing, and in a manner to convey to him that I perfectly comprehended him : he laughed in his turn, and shortly afterwards left me. After this little scene, I withdrew from the ball, wearied enough with an evening which had not been enlivened by any adventure ; and met at the door the Princess of St. A**** who was departing herself, and offered to accompany me home. The weather was rainy

and cold ; I was afraid to wait for my carriage ; I accepted her invitation, and she took me back to my Hotel.

It was now towards the close of February, and contradictory news arrived every day from Vienna, where General Ambrosio and Prince Cariati had been sent on a mission to the Congress ; their correspondence was nothing less than encouraging, by the uncertainty which continued there to prevail.

The relations of the King, with the Minister of Austria, were always friendly, with the exception of the time of which I have elsewhere spoken, when the King, on just receiving one of his dispatches, which represented to him the Court of Vienna as vacillating in its intentions, and in its promises, gave himself up, most indiscreetly, to all the impetuosity of his feelings, and entered frequently, in the midst of his Court, into discussions with the Count de Meir, which almost invariably commenced in anger, and often terminated in menaces. The enlightened friends of the King, who foresaw from that time what would be the inevitable and approaching result of these clamours, never ceased, though always in vain, to apprise him of their danger. This Prince acknowledged the justice of these observations ; promised, in future, to keep a greater command over himself ; and re-commenced after the next day.

Without doubt, we all wished the independence of

Italy ; and its re-union under one entire kingdom, and under constitutional laws ; but from that period even, when this great idea had been known, and when all its developements were in train to give to it the means of execution, it was perceived, that it was not less necessary to think of negotiating than of fighting ; and that it would have been the excess of injustice to deprive Austria of a part of the patrimony which had just been restored to her, and to which that House had had ancient rights, without, at the same time, offering her important compensations, which, perhaps, she would not have disdained, after having been assured, that it was less to the violence of conquest, than to the free will of the people, that she should attribute the loss of her States in Italy.

The actual circumstances of Europe forbid me to say more ; I shall, perhaps, hereafter, return to this highly important subject, which the rapidity with which the events of 1815 succeeded each other in Italy, has never permitted to be discussed.

All this had reference to a system which appertained not to Sicily alone ; and to which, it was reasonable to believe, the whole of Europe would, perhaps, after the first great success obtained, have hastened to accede. Such a political change has since been effected in persons, and in things, that the only idea of giving life to projects, alike so generous and so grand, which it was possible then to con-

ceive, would now be as wild, and as rash, as culpable.

The King of Naples was convinced, after the information he daily received from Vienna, that the most implacable enemy he had at the Congress, was Prince Talleyrand, at that time minister for foreign affairs of France. The King has assured me, that the inveterate hatred which Talleyrand bore to him, took its origin solely in the discussions which arose between him and this minister relative to the principality of Benevento. He considered the Prince of Benevento in this affair much less the organ of the French court than the instrument employed in his own personal feelings, "which this minister," said he, "knew how to dissemble with such fine address, that it was impossible to suppose him to be animated but by the interests of his court and those of Europe."

Without offering any opinion, whether the King's sentiments, in this respect, were either true or exaggerated, they influenced so eminently, and in so great a number of circumstances, (by confounding in his mind the interests of his policy with those of personal feeling,) the resolutions of this Prince; and the fact having appeared to me, from the consideration of the personages, so essentially to connect itself with the history of my memoirs, that it was not allowable in me to suppress this circumstance in my narration; which, without doubt, it will be impossible for me to preserve

from some errors, none of which, however, will be voluntary.

If to a Prince of a strong and unshaken mind, the situation of the King would have been difficult, must it not have been so to him (who unquestionably combined a just and penetrating spirit to an admirable courage on the field of battle) whose politics, uniformly sacrificed to the most fatal irresolutions, were changed in one day by twenty dispatches? This instability has been the cause of all the misfortunes of the King. His military agents in Italy and in Germany transmitted to him an account of the movements, and the various dispositions, of the Austrian armies, and often substituted, in the description they gave of them, their personal fears for the truth; nor did his diplomatic agents afford him greater encouragement. The British Cabinet, in treating him very well, by uniformly promising him an alliance, (which was not less for the interests of England herself, than for those of the King,) did not explain itself, but granted subsidies to Ferdinand.

The King was not ignorant with what perseverance Prince Talleyrand insisted on the re-establishment of the Bourbons of Sicily on the throne of Naples; and there was ground for thinking, that the various notes presented to the Congress by this minister, after having been admitted, and examined, would forthwith be taken into deliberation. Austria, whom the King long

thought had been secured to him, but which Power could not be ignorant of the support, almost avowed, which he afforded to the independent party, was the only Court that acknowledged him without restriction, and that openly maintained with him friendly relations, obscured only by some clouds.

It was nevertheless against her, and against her only, that he was on the point of taking up arms; for the Courts of St. Petersburg and of Berlin, appeared desirous of standing aloof from these discussions, respecting which their ministers did not explain themselves but at the last moment, and when the war had actually commenced in Italy.

In the midst of these circumstances, some agents, whom the King had sent to France, returned to Naples. They reported, "that great preparations were making
" at Toulon; that a great number of troops was
" assembling there; that a fleet was there fitting out,
" destined to join that of Sicily; and that, undoubt-
" edly, his dominions would very shortly be attacked
" by a double French force, combined with the troops
" of the King of Sardinia."

The more this news appeared important and dubious; so much the more the King was disposed to believe it; his mind, exasperated, was given up wholly to the most melancholy impressions; he sent for me, and communicated to me the reports which

had just been made to him, and asked my opinion on them. I answered him with all the frankness which I always observed towards this Prince " that I believed these reports to be greatly exaggerated ; that, without doubt, I was very far from believing in the good dispositions of the house of Bourbon towards him ; but that an armament of the nature of that, which had been so unexpectedly announced, could, if it existed at all, be but very inconsiderable, inasmuch as no advice, no positive indication of it, had reached him ; that an enterprise of this nature could not be unforeseen ; that I did not convey by this, that it was not necessary for him to take precaution, but only that there was excess in his alarms." It was certain, indeed, that an army was then formed at Lyons ; that demonstrations were made towards the South ; but that this force was only, as yet, composed of a few regiments. As to the naval force, of which the French Government could then dispose, it was very well known not to be very formidable ; the disposition of its army was the best guaranty for the repose of Europe, even though the new Government of France (which I was far from thinking was the case,) had been disposed to disturb it.

The King appeared to adopt some of my ideas, and announced to me his intention to dispatch, on the morrow, new agents for France, whose return he should await before deciding on any thing.

Two agents actually departed the following day for France, by Genoa; one or more were sent by sea, with instructions not to land; it was by sea, in particular, that the strictest look-out was directed to be made. The same day the King, whom I had seen in the morning, told me he should depart for Castellamare, (the port, some leagues only distant from Naples, where his ships were built), and proposed to me to accompany him; he inspected the dock-yards; gave orders to hasten the fitting out of some of the ships which were there building; to begin building some new ones, and to arm those which were in a condition to go to sea. From that moment I perceived he had been struck with the possibility of being attacked; and the same evening, on entering the palace, he left me in no doubt in this respect.

“ I do not believe,” said he, when we were alone, “ that France thinks of attacking me yet, but she may “ put herself in a situation to make war the moment “ the Congress shall be broken up, and this I ought “ to anticipate. My best hope on the part of Austria “ is, that she will not declare against me; I shall “ never have her as an ally against any Power on the “ Continent; I only require her neutrality.” He stopped for an instant, and, as if he had awoke out of a frightful dream, he added, “ if, a year ago, the “ Prince Eugene would have accepted the proposition which I then made to him, to divide Italy “ between us, I should not, at this time, have been in

“ so great an embarrassment ; the repose of Italy
 “ would have been secure ; and no body would have
 “ been strong enough to conquer us ; but this must
 “ be no longer thought of ; it is much less necessary
 “ for me to make the attack than to defend myself,
 “ notwithstanding every thing announces that I
 “ ought to commence the war, if I would prevent
 “ its being declared against me, at a time when I
 “ may least expect it.”

Another consideration compelled the King to proceed with celerity. The state of his finances permitted him not to delay the execution of his projects to any distant period. His resources were almost exhausted ; and the reduction of two-thirds of his army, within two months, became indispensable ; I must repeat it, that when the King thus spoke of the former project of dividing Italy, he was far from entertaining a correct idea of what the disposition of the country was at the epoch to which he alluded, or of that which existed at that actual conjuncture. Those who were already devoted, and who were on the point of devoting themselves again, in order to found one entire monarchy, (which was to extend itself from the extremity of the kingdom of Naples to the Northern frontiers, which separate Upper Italy from the Tyrol) had nothing in view but liberty, independence, the glory of their common country, and the uniformity of territory and of laws, which only could have accomplished the grand design, which the division of Italy, into two states, would

have rendered more and more impracticable, by making manifest, in this grand political combination, the culpable agreement between two ambitious rivals, alike the enemies of liberty, and who would only have united themselves but to oppress it.

From the moment the King had decided on war, he only occupied himself with the plans of the Campaign. Always French, he incessantly repeated, and wished that no body should be ignorant of it, that it was not against France, but against the House of Bourbon, that he undertook to arm himself. He had even drawn up a sort of proclamation, in which this idea, which predominated over all others, was expressed under twenty different forms. He communicated the contents of this document to me, requesting me to make such alterations in it as I should think necessary. I have preserved no part of it but the title. This proclamation was very indecent, and could be very little less injurious to the King himself than to his Enemies. He made no difficulty in adopting my opinion. I furnished him with some ideas, which he, at first, found too feebly expressed, (and he was right, if he compared my style with his own,) but which he afterwards approved. This labour here fell to the ground. I have reason to believe that, in adhering pertinaciously to some points, which I besought him to give up (because they were not less offensive than unjust to the powers with whom it was to his interest to be friendly) and fearing, perhaps, to dis-

oblige me by a refusal, he appeared to accede to my propositions ; and got the Proclamation, concerning which he never spoke to me afterwards, drawn up by some one else.

The King succeeded better in another proclamation of eight or ten lines, and which it would have been infinitely more expedient to have called *an order of the day*. It was addressed to the Neapolitan soldiers, who had entered into the service of Sicilly, calling them to his own army. This proclamation, which he had written on several scraps of paper, always put without care into his pocket, and which he put together when desirous of reading it, was remarkable for its extreme conciseness, and for the art with which he had expressed, in such a few lines, all that he had to say. He did not permit me to take a copy of it ; but only read it twice to me ; caused it to be printed ; and sent it into Sicily the same day.

Under all circumstances, in which the abundance and interest of the matter permitted not a verbal discussion, I made reports in writing, which I sometimes read to the King, but always left with him. At the first interview, afterwards, we ordinarily spoke on the object of the memoir, and almost always his resolutions were conformable to the propositions which I had submitted to him. I observed, with pleasure, that this confidence, which I had never abused, increased more and more every day ; at

last, one evening, the 23d or 24th February, in going out of the Theatre, where he had noticed me, he requested me to go to the Palace. I could not conceive what he could have to say to me at that late hour of the night. I lost not a moment in waiting upon him; and will it be imagined how great was my astonishment, when I learned from his own mouth, “ that he should depart before three
 “ weeks to put himself at the head of his army; that
 “ he believed he could assure himself of the neutrality
 “ of Austria; that he expected in four or five days a
 “ a treaty of alliance with England; that whilst one
 “ part of his army would march, by Piedmont, on
 “ the Alps, the other would be transported in his
 “ frigates to the French shore, and effect a landing
 “ on the coast of Provence, bordering on Dauphiny;
 “ and would thus afford assistance to those of his
 “ troops which should descend from the Alps, augmented in number by all the discontented of Italy
 “ and Piedmont; that he was certain of finding
 “ partizans at Grenoble, and that, on the first signal,
 “ all the east of France would flock to his standard;
 “ that this double movement would be made in
 “ accordance with Austria, who would only consent
 “ to second it on the condition that Napoleon the second, and the Regency of his Mother, should be
 “ proclaimed; that he had good ground for believing that that power would engage only on those
 “ terms not to take any active part in the affairs of
 “ Italy; that England only was to be feared; but

“ that every thing would be accomplished before she
 “ could have time to take the necessary measures to
 “ oppose his plans, in the event, contrary to all his ex-
 “ pectations, founded on intelligence which he daily
 “ received, she should refuse to agree to the treaty
 “ which he had proposed to her ; that, as to the rest,
 “ when every thing had been done, she would be
 “ compelled to accede to that which it would not
 “ then be in her power to prevent.

The King told me all this in a most determined
 and decisive tone, and in a manner that very well
 conveyed to me that any opposition, that any ob-
 servation even, would be useless. I thought it ne-
 cessary not to combat any of his ideas ; to appear
 not to ask him any explanation but for my own in-
 formation ; and not to make this the subject of ob-
 jection.

I confined myself, therefore, in recapitulating each
 of the assertions, which he had given me as facts, to
 asking him, 1st, “ Whether he thought he could suffi-
 “ ently depend on his own army to engage with it in
 “ the field, in so perilous and hazardous an enter-
 “ prize ? ” The event has since proved how just
 were my fears on this point ; but the perfect confi-
 dence of the King in his army, composed of about
 sixty thousand men, and strong, at most, fifteen or
 twenty thousand *soldiers*, was, of all the illusions of

this Prince, that, of which it was the most difficult to deprive him.

2d “ Whether the assurance which he believed, “ himself in this case to have (and, in my opinion, “ against all probability,) of the neutrality of Austria, appeared to him to be sufficiently well-founded, “ for him to expose, on this single assurance, the fate “ of his kingdom, and that of his crown, to all the “ chances of a war, which, not having Italy for its “ object, might deprive him of all the support which “ he had the right to expect when fighting for her, “ and would infallibly draw on his own head all the “ European Powers, at the very moment, perhaps, “ when the continuance of his political existence was “ under the deliberation of the Congress ?”

I found the security on this point as perfectly established as on the preceding one ; I was always ignorant of its causes, and he was then too much elated, too much engrossed, with this idea, to render it possible for me to ask him ; he followed up, he disclosed all the consequences of it with the greatest warmth, without perceiving, that those consequences were derived from a system which was, itself, founded only on conjectures and hopes, the little stability in which, this unfortunate Prince, who saw himself surrounded on all sides by enemies, only was ignorant.

3d, “ Whether he could actually calculate on the Treaty with which England had long amused him, without having carried it into effect ? ”

He expected every day, and every moment, the ratification of this Treaty ; a secret agent of the British Government, who arrived at Naples the same time with myself, and to whom the King had granted two audiences, had just renewed to him the assurance, that the return of the Courier, which he had dispatched, would bring its ratification from the Prince Regent ; but, in no case, was this Treaty of a nature to form an offensive alliance with Naples, inasmuch as the treaties, already existing, bound Great Britain to all the Powers of Europe, and even to Sicilly herself. The hopes of the King were, therefore, altogether chimerical, and his error was inexcusable ; it is not allowable to make illusions on evidence.

4th. I continued to ask him, “ Whether, notwithstanding the certainty on which he calculated on the neutrality of Austria, and the explanations he had given to this Power, as to the real object of the great movement he was preparing, he did not fear she would see nothing in its execution but the developement of his projects of aggrandizement and conquest, and take up arms, at the same instant with himself, to oppose his march ? ”

His answer to this last question appeared to me as

vague as his ideas. He spoke afresh to me of the system of compensations, by which he flattered himself, more than he, perhaps, hoped, to bind Austria to his system from the moment when she should see the operation of the general movement of Italy, and to which she should acknowledge the impossibility of opposing herself.

The King had previously made me acquainted with the correspondence which was carrying on in some of the departments of the east, particularly at Grenoble ; but I was far from building on them the same hopes that he did.

The name of Buonaparte, or rather the words of revolution, and of liberty, were all powerful in the eastern provinces, but the name of the King of Naples, since the epoch when this Prince took up arms against France, had lost, amongst the numerous population of these provinces, all confidence and all power. Nevertheless, there was something well-founded in his hopes—I only blame their excess.

The movement which was to take place in Italy, and of which he was to have been at the head, would, in a short time, have changed all minds, and rallied, without doubt, around him, the immense majority of the inhabitants. There were in his plans some just and strong views ; but, in their execution, a fatal precipitation, and a sort of confusion, almost always mixed

themselves with the ideas of the King; and also almost always, without well-grounded motives for changing, and by a sort of propensity to instability, that which had, at first, been conceived, and resolved on, terminated by being not carried into execution.

My observations went no farther. It by no means appeared to me actually impossible, that the policy of Austria, in discarding for ever Buonaparte, might have induced her to pay attention to the overtures which had been made to her by the King, relative to Maria Louisa and her son.

This interview made on me deep impressions, which also became personal to me. However decided I was never more to enter France, and to attach myself to the service of Naples, this war with France, and some of the means by which it was about to be undertaken, afforded me but an uncertain futurity, and which, in all its chances of success, or of reverse, exhibited to me for my native country, and the new country which had just adopted me, but a long train of revolutions and of misfortunes. But at the very moment when so many events were on the eve of developing themselves, that which every body could have foreseen, and which, nevertheless, was expected by no one, just changed, on a sudden, all the politics of Europe, and particularly gave to those of the King of Naples a direction altogether opposite. It will be seen that I speak of the departure of Buonaparte

from the Island of Elba, of his landing in France, and of his reinstallation on the throne.

In no one of my frequent interviews with the King, was it ever possible to fix my ideas upon a subject, which I was much interested in placing in a clear point of view, and respecting which inquiries have very frequently been made of me, viz.—Whether the King knew of the return of Buonaparte? I had no doubt of it; but, as in all my interviews with this Prince, I never dissembled to him, that it was to Buonaparte only that all my misfortunes were to be attributed; and that it would be difficult for me to entertain any other sentiment than that of hatred towards a man, who, after having been my friend in his disgrace, had become my persecutor in his power.

The King always observed the greatest delicacy by not speaking to me on this topic but with the most polite reserve; he acknowledged my just complaints, and sometimes said to me, “that there were, nevertheless, some circumstances in which it became necessary to sacrifice the best founded resentments to the benefit of one’s country.” This advice, which he never gave but indirectly, induced me often to think, that there existed, between Buonaparte and the King, relations on which the latter had the most powerful motive to observe profound silence; but of which I never could obtain proof.

One day, even, the King, finding me much disposed to believe he had communications with the Island of Elba, said to me, "who could suppose, after the injury he has done me, that it is him who thinks he has reason to complain of me; and who should entertain rancour towards me?" (I here transcribe the identical words of the King,) "Did he not say, a few days ago, that he should prefer renouncing all projects, rather than have recourse to the Queen, or to me, for their accomplishment; and that in no case would he consent to receive from us a vessel or a man?" (I continue to make a literal report of the expressions of the King, at this remarkable interview.)

During the latter part of my residence at Naples, my first conjectures on the communications which I presumed to exist between the Island of Elba and the Court, were almost converted into certainty; and how could it possibly have been otherwise? The King might sooner or later learn that the Congress had re-established Ferdinand, and that he had been just abandoned by his only ally; he was at that time acquainted with the projects of Buonaparte, the result of which would, in all probability, confirm him on his throne. Who, then, could blame him for having listened to the propositions which were made to him from that quarter? Nevertheless, I shall oppose to these probabilities, others not less weighty. It will be for the reader alone to appreciate

after the following narration of facts, the degree of confidence which should be placed in the one or the other.

On the 2nd March, 1815, at five o'clock in the morning, a footman brought me a request to repair, without loss of time, to the King. I got up, instantaneously, and ran to the Palace, but not without experiencing some uneasiness from so extraordinary a summons. I arrived, and found the King dressed, and ready to mount his horse, but, nevertheless, very composed; he smiled on seeing me, and said, "You will certainly not doubt the news which I am about to tell you." No, Sire, assuredly; and I wait with the utmost impatience your Majesty's communication of it!" "The Emperor is in France, *** yes, in France, or, if he is not there already, he is on the point of being there," I observed the strictest silence."

"He departed," continued the King "on the night between the 26th and 27th February from the Island of Elba, and we momentarily expect the news of his landing. We have just learned all these details from the private Secretary of the Princess Pauline, whom she instantly dispatched to the Queen, and who arrived two hours ago. Here, then, is an event which changes all my resolutions. I was very desirous of consulting you on it. In such circumstances, what would you do, were you in my

“ place ?” “ I would not hesitate for a moment,
 “ Sire, to give to the Cabinets of Vienna and of
 “ London, the assurance, that this event would in
 “ no respect change your politics, and that you should
 “ remain faithful to all the engagements into which
 “ you had entered with them ; this, moreover, is the
 “ course, which honour prescribes to your Majesty,
 “ and it will not be difficult for me, to prove to
 “ your Majesty, that your own interest, and that of
 “ your kingdom, permit you not to hold any other
 “ language.” “ I am glad to find that is your opi-
 “ nion ; that which you advise me to do, I have done an
 “ hour ago, and Couriers have already been dis-
 “ patched. Nevertheless, in persevering in my
 “ treaties with Austria, of whom, for some months
 “ past, I have had much to complain, I have the
 “ right to demand great compensations, for the
 “ uncertain and ungenerous conduct which she has
 “ observed in respect to me ; and on this I am decid-
 “ ed.” “ It appears to me, that your Majesty will
 “ always have time to accomplish that, and that in
 “ this moment, it is above all things important to
 “ your Majesty to demonstrate to your allies, that
 “ your word is not dependent on events, and that
 “ you will not abandon them at the instant when
 “ you have the power to separate yourself from
 “ them.”

Some moments of silence, on the part of the King,

succeeded this observation, which appeared to have made a deep impression on him.

“ I have now,” added the King. “ to speak to
 “ you about yourself. Whatever may be the issue
 “ of the affairs of France, it is indispensable, that
 “ you immediately depart for Italy; you will pro-
 “ long your stay in those cities where your presence
 “ may seem to be especially necessary, until the
 “ moment, which shall appear to you the most fa-
 “ vourable for you to repair to Paris. It is only
 “ after what you may learn on your road, that you
 “ will decide whether to hasten, or to retard your
 “ journey to France. I am at this moment entering
 “ into explanations with Austria, and I shall not
 “ separate myself from her, unless she opposes my
 “ projects in regard to Italy. In the contrary case,
 “ I shall be in eight days at the head of my army,
 “ and open the campaign.”

These last words confirmed me in the idea, that the King was not a stranger to the project of Buonaparte; not that I have ever thought he had been made perfectly acquainted with the means employed, and the moment chosen, for effecting his departure. Indeed, said I to myself, how could he determine to take a resolution so promptly, unless he had been informed before hand of the plan of the campaign, decreed previous to the departure from the

Island of Elba, and in the execution of which, he was called on to co-operate ? This conjecture, however specious it may appear, had, nevertheless, no foundation ; for I learned, on my arrival at Paris, that Buonaparte complained bitterly of the precipitancy with which the King, without having communicated to him his projects, and the plan of the campaign, had just marched his troops into Italy, and placed himself in an hostile position towards Austria.

This circumstance, demonstratively proved, that if the King had had information on what was passing at Elba, there was not, in fact, any concert between him and Buonaparte, as to the measures to be taken ulterior to that event. That which I have remained persuaded of since, was, that the King, judging that the allies, on the eve of being obliged to occupy themselves with their own affairs much less than about him, would make him many concessions, in order to determine him not to abandon their cause, believed that the moment was now arrived for entering Italy, there to proclaim independence. But then a new obstacle had just arisen ; the name of Buonaparte, all powerful on a part of the population of Italy, was the only one under which the partisans of independence would rally themselves. If the King retained some devoted friends, they were amongst those, who had, at first, thought, that this Prince was maintaining in Italy the cause of his Brother-in-law ; almost all the

rest only recollected his disaffection. This cause produced the deplorable results, of which I shall shortly have to render an account.

He continued, “ we are about to separate for
 “ some months, but I hope we shall afterwards
 “ meet again, never more to separate. I had thought
 “ of nominating your Counsellor of State before your
 “ departure, but I have considered that this, in the pre-
 “ sent circumstances, would not be expedient. I
 “ should fear, in traversing Italy, where you will
 “ every where meet Austrians, that this title would
 “ impede, rather than be of utility to you ; it is on
 “ your return that I hope to do for you all that is on
 “ my heart. Your fortune is lost ; I will re-estab-
 “ lish it ; when you shall have become a little ac-
 “ quainted with the manners of this country, I shall
 “ find in you a good servant, in confiding to you the
 “ administration of the Police, for which I believe
 “ your experience, your knowledge of such busi-
 “ ness, and your activity, qualify you. Set off, then,
 “ the earliest moment possible for you ; see in Italy
 “ all my friends,” (he gave me their names,)
 “ confide in them as they will confide in you when
 “ you shall be known to them ; and the moment you
 “ learn of the Emperor’s being in Paris, repair there,
 “ and occupy yourself in my interests.”

I believe it to be quite useless here to add that, on my leaving this Prince, I received from him in-

structions indispensibly necessary in my new situation; and on which, from the respect I owe to his memory, I do not feel at liberty to enter into any explanation. I must confine myself to saying, that these instructions had no sort of relation to the present state of Italy, and would be of no interest but to those persons who were concerned in what was then going on; moreover, this interest could be only that of curiosity.

It was incumbent on me, at that epoch, to discharge the duties which had been imposed on me by gratitude, and by certain political opinions, which have not triumphed, but of which I shall ever be proud. It is true I have been misunderstood and persecuted for them, (and for which, at the time even of writing this, I am not sure that I am not so again), but to which I shall always remain faithful, and this, perhaps, in the actual state of Europe, the publication of this work will sufficiently prove.

On quitting the King, I went to the Queen, of whom I was desirous of taking leave, and who always received me, when I went to pay my court to her, with the utmost condescension, and the most perfect confidence. In my various interviews with this Princess, I always conversed with her on the misfortunes of France, and the cause of those misfortunes (which it was impossible to separate from them), with an openness that would infallibly have placed me out of her

good graces, had I not invariably observed in her as much elevation of soul, as superiority and delicacy of mind. I found her ill, and agitated with the most lively alarms. No news had arrived of the fate of the expedition which had sailed from Elba. Contradictory and alarming reports were in circulation with the public, but it was only necessary to reflect, in order to perceive their absurdity.

It was then the 2d of March, and Buonaparte had only departed in the night between the 26th and 27th February; so that it was impossible, after calculating time and distance, to receive, before two or three days, any certain information.

This calculation appeared to revive the Queen. In endeavouring to justify to me, (whose misfortunes had so often interested her,) the alarms which she experienced for a brother, of whom she was not ignorant I had much to complain; she frequently repeated to me, in the most affecting tone, and with much emotion—"but, at all events, he is my brother."—Excellent Princess! too little known, too often ill-judged of; whose strength of mind and heroic courage, in the midst of the last convulsion which precipitated her from a throne, on which she had sat with so much dignity, are only comparable to the most noble traits which history has preserved!

Our conversation, all alone, was on interests most

dear; she one time asked me, "but how do you think he will be received in France?" "With enthusiasm by the army; with uneasiness and distrust by the nation, which has so long groaned under his iron yoke; whom he has made to pay so dear for his glory; and who now aspire only after repose."

Sometimes the fears of the Queen divided themselves between Buonaparte and the King; she saw, with the utmost disquietude, the desperate part which he was about to act. In the different interviews which she granted me, I always heard her express herself on the affairs of State, and the present situation of the King, with an admirable penetration. It was one of the weaknesses of the King, to be sometimes jealous of this superiority of mind, which, in a woman, young, beautiful, and Queen, commanded and justified admiration. It is, nevertheless, just to acknowledge, that these moments of ill-humour of the King were never of any duration.

He had strongly recommended me never to hold any conversation with the Queen on affairs of State; it was embarrassing to promise this, because the Queen, naturally leading the conversation to grave subjects, it was unavoidable either to reply in the same tone, or to be silent, and the latter was impossible. I decided, one day, when the King recurred to the sub-

ject, to promise him never to be the first to speak, and I always kept my word.

At the moment when I was about to quit the Queen, the Secretary of the Princess Borghese entered, and confirmed to us the details which he had already given of all that had taken place on the island of Elba, previous to the departure of Buonaparte. All these circumstances are known, and have been repeated in twenty accounts; it will, therefore, be of no interest to recite them again in this place.

As I had only fixed my departure for the end of the week, the Queen expressed her desire to see me once more, and no obligation could be more binding on me. The news from Italy and Vienna then succeeded each other, at Naples, with such immense rapidity, that it was possible that the few days which had to elapse between this interview, and that which would succeed it, would produce great changes in the state of affairs.

No remarkable event occurred during this interval; only the news from Vienna, always more frequent, assumed a more conciliating and friendly character. It was well enough perceived, that notwithstanding the extreme superiority of her forces, Austria was desirous, under the actual circumstances, to prevent the rupture with which she was threatened.

It was now the sixth of March; but no news had been received of the landing of Buonaparte, and it became necessary to decide. I had fixed my departure for the 8th; on the morning of which day, I went to the Queen. Her health was somewhat better, but her fears were always most lively. That which she heard from the King himself, and the particular communications which she had received from the Austrian Minister, who, in that circumstance, appeared to be equally the friend of both countries, had decided her to intreat the King to defer his departure. She did me the honour to enter into the details of the particular reasons, which induced her to detain the King.

Austria, undertaking to cause him to be acknowledged by all the Powers; guaranteed to him the possession of the Marshes, which had been long since contested with him; and many other concessions were proposed, if the King would unite his forces with those of the Allies. Three things, therefore, presented themselves to the King—to join the coalition; to remain neutral; or to march against Austria.

The last was the resolution, into which his fatal destiny drew him; but nothing was yet decided, when, on leaving the Queen, I went to the King at the instance of this Princess, who particularly assured me, that “ she attached much importance to my speaking to the King myself; “ that she was not ignorant of all the confidence

“ he reposed in me ; that a delay of some days
 “ might save every thing ; whereas, by a fatal precipi-
 “ tancy, all might be lost.”

No one could be more struck by the force of this reasoning than myself; since some day every thing appeared to be changed around us, and in the impossibility of being able to prevail on the King to remain neutral, it was a great point to induce him to delay, for some days, his departure. I obtained this with less difficulty than I feared I should meet with; but he put to me, at the same time, a singular enough question, which more and more convinced me, how much he feared to appear to yield to any influence. “ Have you,” said he to me, “ seen the Queen to day ?” I had no reason not to acknowledge it; I avowed it to him; and that avowal appeared to make him satisfied with himself; he applauded himself for having judged rightly. Be that as it may, his departure was delayed at least ten days, during which time, every thing was to be expected from events, councils, and reflection.

In this last interview with the King, it was arranged that I should proceed to Milan, by Bologna, and that, if I judged it expedient, I should go by Ancona, where, in case he decided to commence the war, he himself would shortly arrive. One division of his army was encamped in the environs of that City, under the command of General Carrascosa, and was daily exercised in military manœuvres.

I quitted the King perfectly satisfied with his new resolution ; he renewed to me all the marks of friendship and confidence, with which he had honoured me since my arrival at Naples, and I returned to my hotel ; where I immediately made all the necessary arrangements, in order to take my departure the very same evening. I got into my carriage between seven and eight o'clock, uncertain as to the result of my journey, until I should hear news of what had taken place in France, and struggling between two feelings, impossible to be reconciled ; one of which caused me to dread, for the interest of France, the success of Buonaparte ; and the other, for the sake of gratitude, and my own individual interests, caused me to desire it.—A situation as distressing as common in the unfortunate times in which we live.

An unforeseen accident happened to me, in the middle of a cold and rainy night, between St. Agatha and Garigliano. The shaft of my carriage broke, and it was necessary to retrograde as far as St. Agatha, from which place I was then one league distant, and was there compelled to pass a whole day in a miserable inn ; where I found nothing to divert me but the conversation of a young girl, who had been abandoned six months ago by an officer, who had brought her from France ; she lived there, as it appeared to me, with the landlord, a young man of very good appearance. This girl, very handsome, and who seemed to me not to want *l'inesse*, nor,

indeed, some education, was not deterred by the hospitality, (a little interested, perhaps), which she received from this man, who appeared to love her passionately from entreating me all the day long, at the same time imposing secrecy on me, to reconduct her to France. I told her "that was impossible, and that she must not think of it." Shortly the supplications of the poor girl were changed into tears, and I saw no other means of terminating this scene, which, notwithstanding her oddness was very painful to me, than to assure her, "that my absence from Naples would not exceed a fortnight; that, on my return, I should see her again; and, that if she remained in the same mind, I would take her back with me to France." This promise tranquillized her a little; my carriage was repaired; and I departed.

It was at Mole de Gaete, and while I changed horses, that I learnt by the *Maitre de Poste*, that the Captain who had conducted Buonaparte to the French coast, and had landed him in the gulph of Juan, was returned, and proposed to-morrow to repair to Naples. I found this delay much too long for the anxiety of their Majesties, and I caused a request to be made to this Captain to come to me. He was sent for in all parts of the town, and at length was brought to me. He related to me all the particulars of the landing, such as are known, and told me that he was about to dispatch a person to Naples to announce, by letter, his arrival, to the Minister of the Marine.

This precaution appeared to me as insufficient as the sending of a messenger. Half particulars in great affairs, especially when they are not given verbally, only increase uncertainty ; objections present themselves in crowds to the mind of him who hears them ; and no one being present to reply to them, the imagination is alarmed much more by what is suspected, than by what is learned. I therefore intreated the Captain, in the most pressing manner, to determine on immediately departing, and the more effectually to insure this, I proposed to give him a letter, which he should put himself into the hands of the King. This last consideration decided him ; he saw in this commission the means of promotion, and no longer hesitated. I have since learned that he executed that which I prescribed to him with equal fidelity and good sense.

I quitted Naples on the evening of the 8th of March. The accident I met with at St. Agatha, had detained me nearly a day, and I only arrived at Rome on the 12th. I there saw again Prince Lucien, whose resolutions on the conduct which he has since observed, did not appear to me to have been then taken. The most powerful interest—that of the safety and honour of his family—then presented itself to him, and called him to France ; so that those, who have since so bitterly blamed this determination, will pardon me for repeating it ; this step which under the tyrannical Government of

Bonaparte might have been a proof of weakness and ambition, was, under these circumstances, only a proof of courage and devotedness to the interests of the state, and to those of his house.

With Bonaparte, conquering and despotic, there was nothing either truly great, useful, or liberal, to be hoped; but from a Prince, become constitutional by the influence of events, and by the force of the public wish, every thing was to be expected. The measure of dangers became that of courage; if it were less a question, to endeavour to produce some great good, rather than contribute to avert great evils, the proceeding of Lucien Bonaparte could not be charged with inconsistency.

I regularly saw this Prince during the few days which I again passed at Rome. The public mind at Rome was much agitated; every thing could be foreseen, though nothing was known. I went to the office of the French Ambassador, in order to have the passport, with which I had been furnished at Naples, inspected. Circumstances rendered this precaution more indispensable than ever, to insure my travelling with safety. No difficulty was made, but as I did not take the passport with me, I asked permission to go and fetch it. They did not give me the trouble; at the moment, when I entered my Hotel, and being on the eve of sending it to the legation, the Ambassador was so kind as to inform me, "that

“ he thought it would be expedient for me to change my Neapolitan passport for a French one ;” he invited me, at the same time, to come and dine with him.

I thanked him particularly for his attention to me, of all the utility of which I was sensible ; but I refused to dine with him, fearing, under the circumstances, that I might meet with some body that would be unpleasant to me. I pleaded a prior engagement, and begged permission of the Ambassador to have the honour, the next day, personally to express to him, my regret. I went, accordingly, to his hotel, where we had a short conversation. He communicated to me the contents of a letter from Turin, which had been addressed to him by the Marquis of Osmond, in which he was informed, “ that the necessary measures had been taken in France, to repulse Bonaparte ; that their success, it was thought, was not doubtful ; that already the gates of Antibes had been shut against him ; and that it was hoped resistance would be made to him at every step,”

It was not difficult for me to perceive, that this letter was far from inspiring the Ambassador with perfect security ; but what, above all, confirmed me in the opinion, that his fears were greater than he wished them to appear to be, was, that I discovered intimations, which were not equivocal, that he was preparing for his departure. Uncertainty prevailed

for some time in Italy as to the place, which Bonaparte had fixed on for landing : many persons had placed, for a moment, some confidence in a vague report which had been circulated, that this Prince was directing his course towards Milan. In this alternative, the French agents equally held themselves ready to take all roads ; pressed between France and Naples, they already thought of retiring into Austria ; when the arrival of Bonaparte at Cannes, and his first success in France, having been fully established, their alarms for their personal safety began to subside ; and they had all sufficient time to prepare for their retreat.

I left Rome t' e evening of the same day on which I had seen the French Ambassador the second time ; after having there learned certain information, which I communicated to Prince Lucien, and which he had also received, that Austria pressed the march of her troops, and that the King would expose himself to be attacked in his own territory, if he did not forthwith decide on concluding a definitive treaty, or on commencing hostilities. I sent from Rome this important information to the King, by a Courier extraordinary. I was not desirous of influencing the resolution he should take ; but found it indispensable that he should come to some decision !

A revolting scene, and which, in spite of myself, I was compelled to witness, presented itself at the

moment of my quitting Rome. Five Brigands were about to be executed. My carriage was in the midst of a great crowd on *La Place du Peuple*, which had collected from all sides. In order to get the gates of the city opened, (it being the custom to shut them during the time of executions,) I found it necessary to exhibit my passport to the commandant of the place, who superintended this horrible spectacle, in front of the gallows. He read it, and gave orders for opening the gate.

I had seen too much; the place where the execution took place, resembled a slaughter house. (*Boucherie*). The custom, in almost all Italy, is to cut the bodies of the condemned, immediately after their death, into pieces, and to hang their heads and bleeding limbs on gallows on the high road.

All that had been said to me on my departure from Rome, relative to the movements of the Austrian army, I found to be fully confirmed on my arrival at Ancona; I lost no time in dispatching these particulars to the King. I expected him every moment, but it was with a secret joy that I did not see him arrive. I yet hoped, that every thing might be settled by negociation; and the answer he returned to the letter, which I had addressed him from Rome, inspired me with this hope.

In this answer, of four lines, the King announced

to me, " that he had received my letters dated from
 " Mole de Gaete and from Rome ; that his affairs
 " were going on well ; that he should delay his de-
 " parture yet for some days ; and that I should pro-
 " ceed without waiting for him." On the follow-
 ing day I prosecuted my journey.

It was between Pizaro and Catolica, where I
 met the first Austrian troops, or rather, a few small
 divisions bringing some artillery with them. I
 found them in much greater numbers between Sa-
 vignano, Cesene, Forli, Faenza and Bologna ; from
 that moment, it was demonstrative to me, that war
 was inevitable. I saw at Bologna some of the per-
 sons, on whose assistance and devotedness, the
 King most calculated. I discovered in them, the
 most noble sentiments and unshaken constancy.
 Some amongst these friends of liberty, and the in-
 dependence of their country, were not less estimable
 the name, fortune and rank they bore in Society,
 than for their principles and disinterestedness ; no
 base passion influenced their resolutions.

They loved, in the King of Naples, him, whom
 they considered the instrument of the liberty of
 their country ; nevertheless, it was not difficult to
 perceive, that it was already on Buonaparte, on
 whom the eyes, and the hopes, of the greater num-
 ber were fixed ; and all that was said, sufficiently
 well announced, that the King no longer held but

the second rank in their confidence, and in their devotedness.

Be this as it may, the King, for whom they were to take up arms, was, in their estimation, only as the head of a holy league, and they would have ceased to respect and serve him from the moment they should have believed him to be animated by any other interest than that of the Italian nation.

I have already said it, and my candour requires me to repeat it—the King was not yet sufficiently penetrated with this great idea ; it was not in Naples where he could have judged of Italy ; he rejected not truth, but he sometimes appeared to be afraid of of hearing it ; and this was enough to prevent it from being but seldom presented to him. Notwithstanding, his sentiments were known ; and confidence was exercised in him much more for what was expected from him, than for what he had yet done.

I proceeded with haste from Bologna to Milan. I there found the public mind in a state of inactive fermentation. A few days after me, arrived Gen. Felangieri, aid-de-camp to the King, and who was charged with dispatches for the Comte de Bellegarde. I learned from him “ that the King had arrived at Ancona the day after my departure ; that he had just left him there, and was going to rejoin him ; that in all probability fighting had commenced, but that hos-

"ilities would not become general at all points of the line, until after the answer which he was to carry to the King from the Marshal." This answer was immediately given, and the General departed.

At Milan we had learned the march of the whole of the Austrian army; the number and strength of its corps, in infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

The issue of this war could not be doubtful, but in the event that all Italy should take up arms to maintain the cause of its independence; and every thing demonstrated that its tranquillity would not be disturbed. A series of false reports had kept the King of Naples in the most fatal error, as to the moral power which he believed he enjoyed in Italy. During the time I passed at the Court of this Prince, it was impossible for me to form a just idea of the degree of confidence due to these reports, which the King did not always communicate to me, or of which he only communicated a part. I knew no more of the agents he employed; he sometimes named them to me; but this was quite useless, as their names were as foreign to me as their persons.

The King, too confident, spoke to me only in strains of high eulogium of this description of men, on whom he lavished considerable sums, and whose correspondence always appeared to me to possess

very little interest. Never did I find in it a single idea of great policy; it contained, strictly speaking, nothing but police reports, of the most insignificant and low order; but they had the art of flattering all the chimeras of the King on the national spirit of Italy; on their devotedness to his person, which was supposed to be universal; and on the number, the valour, and the fidelity of his army; they swelled the list of the partisans of independence with names the most foreign to that cause; it was thus by seducing, by incorrect, or perfidious accounts, they ceased not to surprise, or, rather, to betray his confidence; for intriguers in all ages, and in all countries, are ever aware that, in the affairs of Governments, unfaithful reports, by giving birth to false ideas, necessarily lead to false measures.

I can add nothing to what I have heretofore said on political causes; these causes are generally known; and the most enlightened minds in Italy, those who considered the future without fear, as without hope, were no more influenced by them than the wise friends of independence, who, not allowing themselves to be ensnared by any illusion, devoted themselves to the fortune of this noble enterprise, with all its dangers.

No one was less ignorant of these causes than Gen. Filangieri and myself; since we met at Milan, we constantly communicated to each other our fears; we were perfectly agreed as to the fatal principle of so

many misfortunes, from which it was impossible to escape; but seeing the abyss, it was unavoidable not to precipitate into it. The period had now arrived when the noblest cause was about to be destroyed, without having been conquered; for two battles could not have decided the political existence of a great people, if the State had not contained within itself the cause of its own destruction.

The departure of the General for Ancona preceded, twenty-four hours, mine for France; but, before entering into the details of an event, which, in regard to myself, might have involved very fatal consequences, I ought to say one word more on the cause of the departure of the King for Ancona, at the very moment when he seemed to be disposed to negotiate with Austria, or, at least, to undertake nothing against her; it appeared to appertain to the lot of this unfortunate Prince to be uniformly sacrificed by those who were the most closely attached to him, and of which this circumstance furnished a fresh proof.

At the time when every thing wore a pacific appearance at Naples, and when the King, more and more aware of the difficulties and dangers of his situation, had decided, as I have above stated, to fulfil, to their utmost extent, the new engagements which his judgment, (to the natural soundness of which I have had occasion to bear testimony,) had led him to renew with the Cabinets of Vienna and of

London, at the very moment when the departure of Buonaparte from the Island of Elba was known to him; when, for the first time, perhaps, it was possible to entertain hopes of repose, founded on the good faith which had induced the King to enter into this last negociation; (for it must be stated that, until then, all negociation, in his system, had only been an indispensable cloak to conceal designs which, nevertheless, were a secret to no one); in fine, when orders had just been transmitted to Ancona, for the army to undertake no movement which could, on his part, create any idea of hostile intentions, a letter arrived at Naples, from Paris, addressed to the King, by one of the persons who held a first rank in the Imperial Family, (and in whom, unfortunately, he could but place great confidence), had just, all on a sudden, overthrown the most prudent and established resolutions, and brought back this Prince to his former plans.

This letter, which I did not read, (for I was on the road from Rome to Ancona, when it came to hand) but which the King communicated to a person worthy of all confidence, and from whom I received all these particulars, contained a pressing invitation to the King, to declare in favour of the Emperor Napoleon, it announced, “ that the Emperor “ had been received at Lyons with triumph; that “ he was expected at Paris before the 20th March; “ that the King had not a moment to lose, in caus-

“ ing former injuries to be forgotten ; that, in im-
 “ mediately taking up arms, he would, infallibly,
 “ create in Italy a powerful diversion against the
 “ projects of the Allies ; that this, above every
 “ thing, should be in this moment, when he was free to
 “ act according to his own will ; that he would for
 “ ever merit the name of traitor, if he should
 “ balance on the only part, which it was still per-
 “ mitted to him to embrace ; that, moreover, the
 “ Emperor had, already, the assurance of the friendly
 “ dispositions of Austria ; that he expected every
 “ moment the return of the Empress, and his Son,
 “ which had been announced to him ; that it would
 “ be horrible for him, (the King of Naples,) to
 “ receive the example of forgetfulness of injuries, and
 “ of fidelity, towards the Emperor, from the House
 “ of Austria, which she was then disposed to grant
 “ him ; that if he acted a contrary part, he would
 “ by the fact, although the Brother-in-law of the Em-
 “ peror, and raised by him to the Throne, be the only
 “ European Sovereign in war with France, since
 “ the friendly neutrality of Russia and of Prussia was
 “ certain ; that, at that very instant, negotiations
 “ were entered into, with England, with the assur-
 “ ance of success ; that shouts of joy and enthu-
 “ siasm every where signalized the journey of the
 “ Emperor ; that it was not for the King to refuse
 “ to identify himself with them ; that, in a word,
 “ his political existence, that of his kingdom, and
 “ the preservation of his throne, depended on it ;

“ and that he could not have forgotten, that only
 “ a few days ago, his dethronement was all that was
 “ thought of at Vienna.”*****

Certainly, I shall not excuse the violation of treaties ; on this subject, morally and politically, only one language can be held, and never did I hold any other to the King. I shall, therefore, observe the strictest silence on all that passed at Naples, since that epoch. I am, moreover, an entire stranger to it, and this does not enter into the object of my work ; but let it be imagined, what impression a letter, of the nature of that of which I have just given only an extract, but a faithful and almost literal one, would produce on a man of a mind and character, which I have described as appertaining to the King. I repeat it, that, at the same moment, every thing changed its appearance at Naples ; the orders for departure, and those for putting the army in motion, were suddenly given.

The motive of this great change was unknown to General Filangieri, who, after all the precedents which had come to his knowledge as well as to mine, saw in the precipitate journey of the King, and the commission with which he had been charged by him, nothing but the consequence of his character, and of his first ideas, to which, we supposed he had recurred. It was only since my return to France, that I learned all that had passed at Naples in

the last moments which elapsed between my departure from that city, and that of the King ; but I affirm, that the authenticity of the most trifling circumstances, which I have reported relative to that epoch, were not less demonstrative to me than if I had myself been a witness of them.

It is incumbent on me to give a place in my memoirs to this fact, universally unknown, and which explains, without justifying them, the last resolutions of the King. Moreover, it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of the infuriated enthusiasm, which burst forth in the midst of the Neapolitan army, from the moment in which the landing of Bonaparte in France was known ; the soldiers were in a state of intoxication which bordered on fury ; on all the roads which I traversed from Naples to the frontiers of the kingdom, I found this exultation to be general ; it is not doubtful, that this movement which manifested itself so suddenly, and with so much unanimity, amongst the troops and the greatest part of the population, contributed, as much as the causes which I have just described, to the prompt and fatal change, which took place in the system of the King. If this Prince had been willing, in that moment, to have declared against Bonaparte, I am persuaded that it would have been impossible for him to have calculated on his army. This enthusiasm was even of a longer duration, than the Neapolitan character would have allowed

it to be thought ; but then all ideas were overthrown and confounded : Bonaparte was seen at Brussels and on the Alps : Austria abandoning Italy after the most feeble resistance ; independence and union proclaimed, &c. &c.

I stopped some days at Verceil after quitting Milan ; I again saw with pleasure, mixed with much sorrow, that city, where I had spent very happy days, and where, as to me, all was changed. The *Hotel de La Prefecture*, for a short time so brilliant, when two years before we had enjoyed a comedy, was nothing but ruins ; a few months since, the beautiful Madam Giulio, in the flower of life, and a victim to grief, had descended into the tomb. Another of our actresses, more beautiful, more witty, and more amiable, had quitted Verciel, and then resided in France. I saw in the city only a very few persons, and I left it on the morning of the 27th of March, in order to reach Turin at four o'clock in the afternoon.

It was not without a secret presentiment of what was about to happen to me, that I perceived, in approaching the City, and on the other side of the bridge de la Doire, a cavalry picket so placed, as to render it indispensable for me to traverse the ranks in entering the City. Nevertheless, since I left Naples, I was so accustomed to find myself surrounded by the pomp of a military force, that

my fear very shortly vanished; and I pursued my journey without thinking any thing more about it.

I passed the bridge without meeting any obstacle, when, being arrived in front of the police office, where it was customary to exhibit the passports, an agent presented himself at the door of my carriage, and asked my name. I was going to shew him my passport, when he said to me, "that it is unnecessary, that it was sufficient only to learn my name". I told it to him; he begged me to wait a moment; he went into the office, and came out again to announce to me, "that he had orders to conduct me to the Governor-General as soon as I should arrive at the gates of Turin; and that he should have me escorted there by four Caribineers."

It was necessary to resign myself to an unavoidable misfortune. I have said, that it was on the 27th of March; it was Easter Monday; a great proportion of the population of Turin were promenading; I was conducted through the crowd, which filled the *Place du Palais*, the *Rue du Palais*, and the *Rue de la Doire*, and thus was brought to the Austrian Governor-General, who resided, as well as I can recollect, at the ancient Palace of Aoste, where, under the French Government, the Imperial Court was held.

I was kept waiting at least a quarter of an hour at

the gate of the Palace, still confined in my carriage, and surrounded by my escort, which some persons mistook for a guard of honour ; this produced conjectures, which, at another time, would have amused me ; more than two thousand persons crowded around me, and I was looked upon with much curiosity ; many amongst them recollected me, they were struck with astonishment, and saluted me. Some of my old friends were there, and were not less surprised than afflicted to see me in so distressing a situation. I feigned not to know them, and I hope they did not mistake my intention ; at that moment I should only have compromised those who should have appeared to be interested for me.

I waited, with resignation, till a decision had been come to respecting me ; at length an order came to conduct me to *Buon Governo*,* where I waited for some hours the arrival of the Count of Lodi, Colonel of the royal carabineers, and charged with the administration of the high police.

Without doubt, my readers are already much alarmed on my account ; they see my papers seized ; my projects disclosed ; my safety endangered ! Let them take courage ; at the very instant when I was arrested, there was not one single paper of any im-

* Hotel de la Police.

portance about me ; my secret mode on such occasions has always been infallible ; I will, nevertheless, frankly avow, that the first, the most sure of all, has always been with me, never to accept a commission which my conscience and honor, (and in this case I remained more than ever faithful to this principle) would reject. It is possible, undoubtedly, notwithstanding attention to this principle, to be sometimes culpable towards others, but never despicable in one's own estimation.

I am aware that this justification is only good for myself, and that there is no Government which ought to content itself with it ; thus, is it not my intention to give it to be understood that, in the eyes of him who had just seized my person, I considered myself entirely free from reproach ; in the commission with which I was charged, but, only, that the object of this commission was much less important than what might have been imagined.

I have elsewhere said, that my ideas on the independence of Italy had been known, in Piedmont, a long time before the fall of the French Government ; they have remained the same since the re-establishment of the Austrian Government. My journey to Naples, and my return at the period of the invasion of France by Buonaparte, had naturally enough awakened all suspicions respecting me ; this was so plain, that I had neither the right nor the inclination to

complain of it ; to explain myself was not less useless ; I could not ; and, if I had, I should not have been believed ; it was, therefore, only incumbent on me to destroy the existence of any traces of my relations with the King of Naples ; to do which was neither difficult nor long ; every thing had disappeared before I was conducted to the police.

Any one who, in affairs of high interest, is compromised by his papers, does almost always deserve so to be, and has not the right to any other interest than that which attaches itself to misfortune of whatever kind it be. It might also be added, with the exception of a number of other little circumstances, which are incapable of being defined, that he ought not to inspire any ; for it was to him to foresee every thing.

The Count of Lodi at last arrived, and I was brought before him. Without betraying my trust, I spoke to him with much more openness, than, certainly, he at all expected. I found him to be a serious, cold, and very civil man, but one who appeared to be much impressed with the idea that I might be very dangerous. Not a paper of any consequence was found on my person, nor in my carriage, which had the most to suffer ; for it was examined in the strictest sense of the word ; the wheels, the shafts, the perch, the trunks, were all examined with the most scrupulous care ; the linings of the interior were ripped, or,

rather, torn open ; my clothes contained in the *imperial*, and in the trunks, were even not spared ; never was an examination more complete, and more rigorous : it was repeated twice during my captivity.

At the close of the interview which I had with the Count of Lodi, he confined himself to asking me “ what my intention was in coming to Turin ? How long since I was at Naples ? And what my object was in going to France ? ”

This military magistrate told me, as politely as he possibly could, “ that it was not in his power to set me at liberty ; that he must send me to prison ; that he would give the necessary instructions for me to be treated with the greatest respect and attention ; that the examination of my affair should not be prolonged further than what was indispensibly necessary ; that I could not be ignorant that the government ought to take these precautions for their own safety ; and that circumstances did not afford him the possibility of acting otherwise ” I made no reply ; all reasoning would have been in vain ; my return from Naples, by Turin, had long since been announced, and my arrest determined on. I bid adieu to the Count, and was taken to prison, at ten o'clock at night, with my *valet de Chambre*.

This first night was horrible ; however, accus-

tomed as I had been to these distressing adventures : it was terrible to be arrested in the middle of my journey, and when almost on the point of treading on the French soil. At day light, I desired the goaler to be called, and asked him for pen, ink, and paper : this fellow, one of the best of this description of men, brought me, instantly, and with a degree of promptness with which I was much pleased, all that I wanted.

I recollected that during my first stay in Piedmont, I had become acquainted, in one of my journeys to Ivree, with the Count of Valaise, who then lived, after having uniformly refused any employment under the government of Bonaparte, in retirement on his estate, and had preserved towards his unfortunate Sovereign, the most faithful and honourable attachment. I had, at that epoch, some interviews with him ; and of which, I have at all times preserved the most interesting remembrance. The view we both took of the greater part of the events of the French Revolution was, at that time, the same. I did not express myself with less frankness on the government, which became its successor, and he was quite of the opinion which I entertained of Bonaparte ; he cannot have forgotten to what extent I had ever been pursued by his animosity ; and, at that conjuncture, it was essential for me that he should not have forgotten it.

I, therefore, resolved on writing to him, and caused my letter to be immediately delivered to him; the effect was prompt; an hour after the letter had been sent, Count Lodi came to me, and testified much more interest for me than on the preceding day; he told me, that "the Count of Valaise perfectly well recollected me; that he desired to see me, and that, if it would be convenient to me, he would take me to this Minister, at such an hour, even in that day, as we should agree on."

However, as it was late, I preferred to delay the visit to the next day; but as Count Lodi would be more particularly engaged that day than usual, the visit was still put off to the following day. At length, early on the 31st March, the Count had the goodness to give me information, that he should come and fetch me at noon, in order to conduct me to the Minister. At noon, the carriage was actually at my door. The Count of Valaise received me with marked attention.

The following is nearly the substance of what passed at our interview; it made so strong an impression on my memory, that I am certain I have omitted nothing whatever, in the narration, of any interest:—

"My project, Count, in passing Turin, was to

“ have the honour of seeing you, but I hoped it
 “ would have been with less pomp, and under other
 “ circumstances.” “ I could have wished it also,”
 replied he, laughing. “ You see, you are our pri-
 “ soner.” “ Certainly ; but since I must be that
 “ of some one, I prefer to be yours.” “ Is it long
 “ since you left Naples ?” “ Twenty-three days.”
 “ Where did you leave the King ?” At Naples ;
 “ but I have since learned, that he is now at An-
 “ cona.” “ He is much farther advanced than
 “ that ; we know that he is at Bologna.” “ I
 “ was ignorant of that.” (I could, willingly, have
 thanked the Count, for the agreeable news he gave
 me.) “ What do you conceive to be the number
 “ of the King’s army ?” “ Sixty or seventy thou-
 “ sand men.” “ That is not credible ; all the ac-
 “ counts we get, do not place it higher than thirty
 “ or forty thousand men.” “ You will be pleased
 “ here to observe, that I speak of its numerical
 “ force, which, certainly, I do not exaggerate.”
 The Count began to laugh, and added, in a manner
 altogether affable, “ but I forgot that you are in the
 “ service of the King.” “ Although I love much to
 “ recollect him, I have the honour to declare to
 “ your Excellency, that this consideration had no
 “ weight with me in what I have just told you
 “ the army of the King does not consist of less
 “ than fifty or sixty thousand men.”

“ What, then, can be the projects of the King of

“ Naples in undertaking a war, which, according to
 “ all appearances, must be attended with the most
 “ fatal consequences to him? To render himself
 “ master of Italy? but there is no probability of his
 “ being able to accomplish that design. The pub-
 “ lic mind in Italy is not at all what he imagines.
 “ Here, as every where, there are dissatisfied, dis-
 “ contented people, fond of changing; but they are
 “ not the greater number, and Italy stands in need
 “ of repose.”

“ But, do you not also admit that she stands in
 “ need of liberty? Because, for ten years, she has
 “ been deceived in her dearest expectations by Buona-
 “ parte, does your Excellency think that she has
 “ altogether renounced the noble idea of becoming
 “ independent and free under one sole head and an
 “ uniform legislation? From the moment when
 “ she shall have attained this end, (and perhaps it
 “ is only requisite for her to will this in order to ac-
 “ complish it) Italy would become one of the most
 “ powerful and formidable states in Europe.”
 “ Thus you think, that the ambition of the King of
 “ Naples, goes to that extent? “ I can say nothing
 “ as to that; but I have no doubt that Italy is look-
 “ ing for one sole head; and that the first man of a
 “ great character, and great courage, who offers
 “ himself thus to serve her, will be accepted with
 “ enthusiasm and devotedness.” “ The King of

“ Naples had not such high pretensions two years ago ; and, if at that epoch the line of the Po had been offered to him, for his limits, he would have accepted it, with much gratitude.” “ If he would then have accepted it, it is possible, he would still accept it.” “ Really, to be candid, do you believe, that he is generous enough to do us this favour ? But let us speak seriously ; be assured that the King has ill digested his plans ; no one, perhaps, knows better than you, that he has calculated on a general rising in Italy ; but Italy will remain quiet ; and if, as every thing indicates, this tranquillity is not disturbed, what means could he oppose to all the forces of the Austrian monarchy united against him ? He has entered Bologna without obstruction, because he has taken advantage of the confidence, which Austria, on the faith of treaties, reposed in him ; the difficulty will be to maintain himself there.” “ The direction which I gave to my journey, proves to your Excellency, that I had no idea of occupying myself with the affairs of Italy.” “ Not altogether ; it is not necessary to be there, in order to be occupied about it. Had you no intention to make some stay at Turin ?” “ To see some friends, and that is all.” “ In the actual circumstances, you will judge that, that is impossible, and in no case your detention can be of long duration.” “ If your intention is to give me, shortly, my liberty, would it not be more generous not to delay

“ it for a moment ? ” “ If we, the Count of Lodi and myself, referred entirely to you on this point, speaking ingenuously, would you act thus ? ” “ Perhaps ; but the advice I should give thereon, would, certainly, be too much interested to leave me the hope of seeing it adopted by you.”

The whole of the conversation took place on the one part, and on the other, with good humour enough ; I was entirely revived by the generous proceeding of the Count of Valaise.

After some moments of silence, he resumed, and said to me, “ moreover, orders have been given to render your stay, if not agreeable to you, at least supportable.” “ I acknowledge it, and it is incumbent on me to thank you for it.” “ You have many friends here, and all of them are very much interested for you.” “ I never doubted that, and this interest, materially, contributes to my being able to support, with greater resignation, the distressing circumstance which has happened to me.” “ To this there will be an end.”

At this last word, I thought it was time to take leave of the Count of Valaise. He conducted me back with the most refined politeness, and appeared to wish me to forget that I was his prisoner. His civil reception placed it out of my power any longer to think so.

On re-entering the prison, I found with chagrin enough, that, during my absence, many new arrangements had been made in my room, with which, I could not be very well amused, because it appeared, that if I was shortly to quit it, less care would have been taken to embellish it. A very beautiful mahogany bed-stead, with yellow damask furniture, and six-arm chairs, with the same stuff, had just been placed in my chamber, and, as it was very small, it was scarcely possible to turn in it after the brilliant change which it had undergone.

Some large panes of glass had been substituted for some paper windows, through which, every wind penetrated. Attention had been carried to the length even of white-washing the walls, so that I could not sleep there until the next day, when it should have had time to dry. The grating and the bolt were the only things that remained as they were. It was rightly thought, that no alteration could diminish its horror. I must also add, that if attention to my wants had been redoubled, watchfulness and precautions had not less been so. A body Guard had just been stationed under the window ; and as I was the only state prisoner in that house, I could have no doubt that it was me to whom this honour was paid. Moreover, I was not always so solitary as might have been imagined.

There was a little Celestina, who was the friend of

the gaoler, and who marked linen marvellously well : I bought some, in order to give her occupation. Celestina chattered, embroidered, or marked, at my side ; and during the time I was occupied, she entertained me with her stories. She went every evening to her town apartments, and returned every morning. I always thought that one of the turnkeys, jealous of our tête à tête, (which he could easily, at every moment, interrupt, as the door was never shut) had denounced Celestina as executing my commissions in the town ; this was a falsehood, for nothing in the world would have induced me to entrust her with them ; this would have been at once to compromise the girl and the gaoler. Nevertheless, the reports of this wretch were believed, and Celestina received orders never more to appear in the prison. From that moment the marks on my handkerchief were very much neglected. I took so great a hatred towards the spy, who had, until then, profited considerably by me, that I gave him reason on all occasions to repent of his base imposture. I had no other visits but those of the Count of Lodi, whose civilities to me remained unabated, but whose presence brought to my recollection melancholy ideas.

Nevertheless, shortly after the departure of Celestina, a companion in prison was sent to me, whom I very little expected to see, and who was not less surprised to meet me there, although he

had learned from some of our common friends in the city, whom he had been to see, that I had some days since been arrested. This was the young Alphonso of Bauffremont, Aid-de-Camp of the King of Naples, and son of the very prince of Bauffremont my play-fellow, and of whom, I have very often spoken in the first series of these memoirs. Alphonso arrived from Paris, where he had been sent by the King, just before my departure from Naples.

The dispatches with which he had been charged on quitting Paris had not been seized. I saw him the moment he entered the prison, and some time before he himself perceived me; it might have been divined from his sorrowful countenance, that he had not been accustomed to such an abode. I had the use of a long gallery, communicating with my chamber, the windows of which looked into the yard, where it had been ordered that we should never be allowed to walk together; when one descended the other was obliged to go up stairs. We dined in separate rooms, and without any kind of communication. We both experienced how truly restraint produces ingenuity. In the evening, when the gaolers were at supper, I was permitted to walk in the yard; it was then that Alphonso went up to his room, and unrolled a long piece of string, which reached to the ground, and to which was suspended his correspondence. I took up the paper, after having

looked all around me, to see that I was not watched ; I then, hastily, tied my own to the string, by which means our answers reached each other every twenty-four hours. Thus we communicated to one another the news from without, which the indiscretion of the gaolers and the turnkeys frequently let slip before us, or which they talked of amongst themselves, when they believed they were not overheard.

It may easily be imagined whether our impatience, under the circumstances in which we were placed, induced us to listen to them with avidity or not. I learned from Alphonso, that at the instant, when he was arrested, a report prevailed at Turin, that a trunk had been found in my carriage, containing some thousands of tri-coloured cockades, which, without doubt, I was commissioned to distribute in Piedmont.

This extravagance had, for a moment, its effect ; and my friends themselves were under some alarm on my account. A sign was made to me, by putting the hand upon the neck, expressive of an intention to cut off the head, but as I could not ascertain whether it was his or mine to which he alluded, I was willing to believe that his personal fears were aroused, and I employed all the eloquence of my gesture to re-animate him.

When he was able to write to me relative to the cockades, I had no longer any difficulty in knowing

that it was me to whom the gesture of the neck related, and which, notwithstanding the absurdity of the accusation, gave me much uneasiness.

On the 9th of April, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, I received a visit from the Count of Lodi, whom I did not expect, and who came to give me the positive assurance, that "that very evening I should be set at liberty; but that I should not take it amiss for an escort to accompany me as far as the French frontiers." I replied, "all that was very well; that I only had thanks to express, and no observations to make; and that from that moment I was at his disposal." He then informed me, "that a Commissary of Police would come at ten o'clock at night, to take me to his house, where I should find my carriage and an escort all ready."

I seized this opportunity to speak to him of my poor companion in misfortune, who had begun to lose courage, and whom my departure was about to consign to great solitude. The Count of Lodi complained much (I do not know of what), about something which Alphonso had said to him, at the moment when he was arrested. At bottom, this military magistrate discovered a most amiable and kind disposition. It was impossible to soften, by more urbanity, the most rigorous functions. It was easily seen, that if severity was inseparable from the place, the civility

was personal. I have pleasure in here renewing the expression of my just gratitude ; I did not wait until now to convey this to him.

He kept his word towards me ; between ten and eleven o'clock, the Commissary of the *Hôtel de la Police* came to fetch me ; my arrangements were made ; I embraced Alphonso, with whom, for some days past, my communications had been less difficult ; and I departed, in order to go to the Count of Lodi.

The considerable sums in gold and bills of exchange which had been seized on me, at the time of my arrest, were restored, and a part of my papers was also given up. I never could imagine why the others, which were equally unimportant, were retained. I conversed some time with the Count, and shortly it was announced to me, that every thing was ready, and that I might depart.

I took leave of him, and got into the carriage, under an escort of four royal carabineers, who exercised, in Piedmont, the functions of the French gendarmerie, and who were relieved from place to place, but did not quit me a single moment until I had put my foot on the French territory. The greater part of these carabineers had formerly served in the French army.

It is difficult to form an idea of the extravagant

enthusiasm, of the kind of folly and infatuation, with which the simple name of Buonaparte inspired them. Persuaded that I was in his service, from the nature even of the functions with which they were charged, and the rigid instructions which had been given them in respect to me, (and it was enjoined on me, and on my valet de chambre, to speak to no one on the road), these men conversed with me with the most imprudent indiscretion. Almost all of them asked me, “ Whether they would be well received in France ? “ Whether Buonaparte would take them into the “ service ? Whether the war was about to re-com- “ mence ? When Buonaparte would be in Italy ? ” A great many of them had proposed to accompany me to France ; others were willing to desert with their arms and baggage, in order to insure them a better reception on arriving there.

I applied to the former, “ that I could not give “ them any assurance of what it might be possible to “ do for them ; that, moreover, their first duty was “ to remain faithful to their Prince, and that to carry “ with them into France no other recommendation “ than that of desertion and perjury, would not be “ to entitle themselves to any interest from the “ French ; that I could not charge myself with any “ one of their propositions ; that France had never “ refused an asylum to those who sought it ; and that “ in order to dispose of one’s self, it was neces-

“ sary to begin by being free, which they then were
 “ not.”

I expressed myself with still greater severity towards the latter; demonstrating to them, with all the warmth which the sentiment, with which I was myself penetrated, inspired me, “ that thus to act, would be
 “ to add robbery to treason; that in the intention
 “ which they had to serve France, they were not to
 “ shew themselves unworthy, by an infamous action,
 “ reprobated by all nations; that it was to be de-
 “ sired that the peace of Europe should not be dis-
 “ turbed; but that if war was about to re-commence,
 “ and if their country should once more become
 “ French, it would then be lawful for them to give
 “ free scope to their devotedness.

These arguments produced some conviction, but not without difficulty. I do not hesitate to say, that my counsel, in the course of my journey from Turin to the gates of Chambery, preserved for the King of Sardinia a great number of soldiers, very much bent on leaving his service, in order to enter that of France. In thus acting, I not only considered myself as obeying the voice of conscience and honor, but as discharging, in some manner, a duty which I owed towards those who had the power, under circumstances which might have justified all their suspicions, without subjecting them to a charge of injustice, of pro-

longing my captivity, but who had given me my liberty, and sent me back into my own country.

My escort left me, on departing from Mount Melian, in sight of the first French post. On arriving at Chambery, I alighted at the Prefect's of *Mont Blanc*, to whom the most contradictory instructions had been sent from Paris; and who, having no troops but some Gendarmes, at his disposal, feared, every moment, without any real foundation, that he should see himself attacked by the Piedmontese. I fully satisfied him on this point; I stopped a half an hour with him, and then proceeded on my journey towards Lyons, where I arrived on the 11th of April, at three o'clock in the morning. I only took time to bathe, of which I stood much in need, and then immediately repaired to Marshal, the Duke of Albeſura, who had a few days before arrived at Lyons in the quality of Governor-General. The Marshal and I had a long conversation on the affairs of France and of Italy. He hesitated not to say, "that if the intention of Bonaparte was not to depart from the principles of despotism, which had rendered his first reign so odious, he was decided on relinquishing all employment; that since events had replaced this Prince on the throne, it was necessary to see whether reflection, experience, and misfortune would inspire him with other ideas; that, as for himself, it was less the man than the country which he was desirous of serv-

“ing; but that, in such important circumstances,
 “he thought he owed a duty to all Frenchmen to
 “sacrifice themselves to the interest of France ; that
 “great faults, which might have been so easily
 “prevented, had produced this overthrow ; and that
 “it was now not a question to take a view of the
 “past, but to save the State.”

The Marshal afterwards conversed with me on the affairs of Naples. I described to him all the dangers of the situation of the King, with which I was almost wholly occupied, and which every moment became more perilous. I convinced him, that
 “it was only necessary to march fifteen or twenty
 “thousand men to the Alps, in order to effect a
 “general rising in Italy, and save the King of Na-
 “ples ; and that if this was not immediately done,
 “Italy and the King would be lost.”

The Marshal replied, “that he could do nothing
 “in this respect ; that, in truth, the conscripts
 “flocked in from all quarters to demand service ;
 “(a) but nothing was yet organised, nor could it be

(a) This fact is as true as extraordinary. Some conscripts and deserters, who had taken refuge in the mountains many years since, and who, even under the Royal Government, which had just proclaimed a general amnesty, constantly refused to come out of their retreats, ran in crowds to solicit to be employed ; they mentioned the regiments to which they had belonged, and discovered the most

“ for a long time ; that the King of Naples was by
 “ far in too great a haste, &c.” I but too well
 “ knew this ; I agreed to all ; but it was a question
 what part to take, and no one presented itself to him.

The Duke of Albefura, moreover, did not conceal from me, “ that Bonaparte calculated on all the
 “ troops, which, at that moment, were organizing
 “ at Lyons, in order to strengthen the army of the
 “ North ; and that he could not take the least number
 “ from them, in order to afford succour to the King,
 “ for whom his own means and the insurrection in
 “ Italy ought to be sufficient.” I demonstratively
 proved to the Marshal, “ that if the safety of the King
 “ rested only on these hopes, I considered his ruin
 “ inevitable, and at hand ; I told him that I was about
 “ to try new efforts with Bonaparte to obtain more
 “ support ; but that if this should be refused, and
 “ the King should consequently fall, I doubted not
 “ that his loss would bring on France the greatest
 “ misfortunes.” After these sad reflections, the
 Marshal and I separated, in order, shortly, to meet
 again at Paris.

enthusiastic devotedness. This general movement was, in the eyes of every attentive and diplomatic observer, only the necessary consequence of the false direction which, since the first restoration, the King's government had allowed itself to take, in reference to the opinions of the country. With a conduct, a thousand times more imprudent, what fatal results ought not to be expected from the government of the second restoration ?”

On my journey from Lyons to Paris, I was confirmed in all the observations which I had already made in travelling through the departments of the east, as to the disposition of the people in the Country ; women, children, old and young men, all as they were at work in the fields, came precipitately down to the road side, as I passed along, shouting with fury much more than with enthusiasm, “ *vive la liberté ; vive l’Empereur, plus de Bourbons.*” (Long live liberty, long live the Emperor ; down with the Bourbons). As, for the greater part of the time, I observed silence, some of the most incensed amongst them seized the shafts of my carriage, and the horses by the head, holding the reins in their hands ; and, redoubling their imprecations, threatened me with acts of violence if I persevered in refusing to answer them. When it became necessary to yield to their importunities, and to say, “ well then, *vive la liberté, vive l’Empereur,*” their fury was turned into transports of joy ; they skipped, they sung, they fixed their hats and their bonnets on their implements of husbandry, and marched by the side of my carriage, which they conducted in triumph, compelling me to slacken my pace ; in one and the same moment I had just seen myself the object of hatred and idolatry from that infatuated mob. Nothing, in all the revolution, could have more forcibly brought back to my recollection, the popular excesses of 1793 ; or, rather, those excesses themselves had never been any thing else than the

scene of which I was then a witness, and which every moment threatened to change from folly to ferocity.

On the evening of the 13th of April I arrived at Paris. I immediately went to the Duke of Otranto, called back to the general administration of the Police on the return of Bonaparte. This minister was surrounded by a great many people when I presented myself to him, as soon as it was possible for me to speak to him alone, I hastened to direct the conversation to the express object of my journey. I did not find him more tranquil than myself, as to the situation of the King of Naples.

“ The Emperor,” said he, “ cannot, at this moment, dispose of any force for the succour of the King ; he is a great deal too hasty ; he ought to have waited instructions from Paris.” (It is known that I was then ignorant of what had been communicated to him in the letter, from which I have given an extract, by a member of his family, whose imprudent advice had decided his last proceeding ; I could not, therefore, by this letter, justify the King.) “ I had myself,” added the minister, “ recommended him to undertake nothing hastily ; moreover, if the King possesses not, in himself, sufficient forces, does not he still calculate on Italy ?” I explained to the Duke, with as much clearness as possible, all the reasons which had led me to think that the

King had suffered himself, for a long time, to be deceived by hopes far too flattering. I gave him an exact account of my personal observations, and of the information I had acquired in the course of my journey, in which he saw nothing that did not justify his fears and my own, and said to me, "that this very evening, he would announce my arrival to Bonaparte; who, without doubt, would wish to see me."

I was very indifferent about that: indeed, there was something in it, even painful to me, inasmuch as this prince had always testified hatred and distrust towards me. A personal interview with him did not appear likely to produce any favourable effects for the King, in whose interest I was then exclusively employed. I, therefore, preferred that this business should be conducted between this minister (whose sincere attachment to the King was well known to me) and Bonaparte. The latter, the moment he heard of my arrival, requested my journal to be given to him. I transmitted it to him with some general observations; and I afterwards learned for certainty, that there was absolutely nothing to be hoped for the King; that he would be abandoned to his own resources, and that he must resolve to conquer or perish with them. From that time, all hope of saving him had, with me, vanished; and it only remained to await the long chain of misfortunes, which have succeeded each

other, without interruption, even to that which has terminated all.

The Imperial Government had been scarcely re-established, when all the hopes of a happy futurity vanished. Bonaparte had returned, but he returned alone; all the illusions, all the charms of which a succession of unheard of prodigies had, until then, accompanied his name, had disappeared. He was no longer but a man, and a man whose adversity had neither changed his character nor improved his ideas; he still thought that every thing ought to yield to his glory, and thus he deceived himself.

Fortune is a perfidious mistress, who seldom returns to the lovers whom she has betrayed. One of the first words of Bonaparte, after his return, would have sufficed to make known all his thoughts, had it been permitted to publish it. One of the most distinguished persons of his Government, celebrated for his wise and enlightened mind, observed to him, that it was now indispensibly necessary to establish a constitutional system, which should satisfy the wishes of all Frenchmen; that such, the act, known under the name of the Constitution of the empire, could not be considered; that the Bourbons themselves had unequivocally acknowledged, that only in the name of the laws would it henceforth be possible to govern in France, that their first care had been to give a charter; that he, him-

self, had no other means of establishing his new power on a solid basis, and for rendering it truly national."

"Aha, aha," angrily replied Bonaparte, "you have then also the mania of Constitutions! Well then, I am opportunely arrived to cure you of this malady!!" Any reflection on my part could only weaken those which this word will produce in the minds of every one, who shall read these memoirs; but I ask, whether he, who could sport with such an insulting derision, with the most sacred rights, and with the dearest hopes of the French people, would ever have been able to resolve on restraining his power within the bounds of a constitutional authority?

Urged to a perpetual constraint and dissimulation, the character of Buonaparte hence contracted an increasing acrimony. This man, formerly so absolute, met, at each step, insurmountable obstacles; and, to him, every obstacle was opprobrious. Naturally led to every kind of mistrust, every resistance appeared to him a conspiracy. The interest of his own preservation had compelled him to shew himself popular; and this sacrifice was that which the most wounded his pride.

The man who had seen Princes and Kings prostrate at his feet, was reduced to receive, with the

smile of gratitude, the disgusting homage of an abject populace. Obligated to bend to the all-powerful will of the nation, which, but a short time since, had no other than the caprice of its master, he proposed the additional act, which destroyed him; and formed, in execution of a compact, which did not yet exist, a Chamber of Representatives, and a Chamber of Peers.

Public opinion, from the very moment when it perceived that protection had just been given to it, became more bold and enterprising; the more the people thought they saw in Bonaparte an intention to reconquer his tyrannical power, the more they threw obstacles in the way even of the most legitimate exercise of his constitutional authority.

The distrust between the great national Bodies, appeared to increase in proportion to exterior dangers, and daily hastened the terrible conflict with which they were just on the eve of being overwhelmed all together. If the Chamber of Representatives had not been divided into two parties, (a) which, without actual opposition, never thought of agreeing together, France would, perhaps, have been saved; it was

(a) I have given to this word the meaning, which M. de Constant has given it; and the only one which it appears capable of bearing.

only necessary, in order to that, to agree amongst themselves on some name, which, by uniting in it the immense majority of the interests of France, would not have injured any of those of Europe, and which would have offered to the universality of these interests that of the opinions, and, to each individual, every kind of guaranty that had been elsewhere vainly sought for, and which will probably never be found.

The news from Italy succeeded each other, and no longer communicated any thing but disasters. The King, vanquished on the 3d of May at Tolentino, and having no hope left of rallying his army, precipitately returned to Naples, where he exclaimed to the Queen, in presenting himself before her, in these simple and sublime words, which will be recorded by the impartial Historian, "Madam, I could not die."

During the time this unfortunate Prince found an asylum in France, the Queen, in the midst of her family, whose dangers only excited her alarms, saw the city of Naples in the power of the Austrians and of the English, and exposed to the fury, a thousand times still more dreadful, of a most enraged populace. From the vessel, in which the English Admiral had afforded her an assylum, against those who were lately her subjects, this Princess, with a force of character, and a presence of mind, of which all the spectators of that deplorable scene have yet preserved a deep remem-

brance, still gave orders for the safety of the Capital, and entrusted herself at the same time to the good faith of her enemies.

When I was informed at Paris, where I then was that the King had retreated into the neighbourhood of Toulon, my first thought was to go and find him there, and to offer him the last feeble services, which it was in my power to render him ; but I dared not undertake this journey without having been formally authorised so to do ; I feared that, in his misfortune, my presence would awaken in him too many melancholy remembrances. Never had the French Government finally made known the place where he actually resided.

At one time, it was said at Fontainbleau ; at another, at Compiègne ; and once, it was even announced, that he was at St. Cloud ; at last, I learned that he was gone to Corsica ; where he would no doubt, have remained, had he not been forced to wander from rock to rock, when the agents of the Royal Government took possession of that Island. I had not from the moment when he took refuge there, until that when the most execrable perfidy brought him back amongst his assassins, any authenticated particulars of him whatever. I shall confine myself to giving this narration just as it has been given to me, when I shall have arrived at the last episode of this horrible history.

I went daily to the *Palais Royal*, which had been assigned for the residence of Prince Lucien. He often reproached me for my indifference, and requested that I would seek to be attached to the Government. I considered it a duty not to conceal from him that I had no confidence in the order of things which had just been re-established, and that I could not decide on the step which he recommended, and to which I was before-hand convinced Buonaparte would not agree, unless I should be assured that it was particularly desired by him.

He very obligingly gave me this assurance, and it was now only a question to determine to what branch of the administration I should be attached. We were of opinion that my ancient relations with the Duke of Otranto rendered it preferable for me to be employed under his orders, and Prince Lucien undertook to speak to him on the subject, for I felt an inexpressible repugnance to make, of this Minister, this request myself, however intimate I was with him.

It was then agreed that a decree should be proposed, which should confide to a Lieutenant-General of Police the superintendence of the fourteen departments of the East, which extend from the frontiers of Germany to the extremity of Piedmont.

The decree was presented to Buonaparte, who made no difficulty in signing it; but when my

name was laid before him, he absolutely refused, and with a perseverance which his brother and the Minister of Police could never surmount, to consent to the choice. The Duke of Otranto communicated this news to me the same evening; it neither astonished nor afflicted me, for I was prepared for it. I informed the Prince of it the next morning; he expressed some astonishment, and after some moments of reflection, only said, "He is always the same man." In any other circumstances, I should not have been a little mortified by this refusal; in the actual circumstances, it was with much sincerity that I felicitated myself on it.

A few days after this adventure, Prince Lucien thought he had found a new and an important occasion in which my services could be employed; but on this occasion the acquiescence of Buonaparte was not necessary to the accomplishment of the commission with which I was about to be charged.

A re-union, to which I shall not give the name of Privy Council, because it had all the character of a family assembly, but at which, nevertheless, all the family did not assist, took place at the *Palais de l'Elysée*, eight or ten days before the departure of Buonaparte; very few persons were invited to it; of this number were some of the Ministers in office; two or three Ministers of State, and some persons belonging to the great bodies of the nation.

After having for a long time discussed the different means of re-establishing a good understanding between France and Europe, and of preserving to the former her political independence, that is to say, the right of giving to her a Sovereign of her own choice, it was decided, “ that Buonaparte should immediately abdicate in favour of his son ; that he “ should write to the Emperor Francis the Second, “ to re-demand the young Napoleon and Maria “ Louisa, to whom, by the same act, the regency should “ be committed ; that, in fine, he should entrust “ himself at the same time to the loyalty of the House “ of Austria, and repair to Vienna, there to be kept “ as a hostage, and to guaranty, by his presence, the “ execution of this engagement.”

Buonaparte had consented to every thing ; it only now remained to dispatch a person to Vienna, with letters addressed to the Emperor of Austria and to Prince Metternich. To these letters many written documents were to be added, the developement of which was to be confided to the person who should be charged with this delicate mission.

After the termination of the re-union, when every thing had just been settled, I went to the *Palais Royal*. Prince Lucien asked me, “ Whether I had seen “ the Minister of Police, and whether he had said “ any thing to me ? ” On my replying, that I had not seen that Minister since the preceding morning, he

entreated me "not to lose a moment in going to see
 "see him, because he had something important to
 "communicate to me." I instantly repaired to his
 hotel, and told him what this Prince had said to me.

I found the Duke of Otranto pensive, restless, and
 uneasy. He confirmed to me, "that, in effect, he
 "had something to say to me, but that it was ne-
 "cessary to wait, because no decision had yet been
 "come to on the object for which the Prince had
 "sent me to him." I made no observation to him,
 and only asked, "when I might see him again?"
 His answer was, "very shortly; shall I tell the
 "Prince I have seen you?" "Without doubt, and
 "add, what I have just answered." I left the Duke,
 being much impressed myself with what had passed,
 and with the mystery in which that affair was enve-
 loped.

I went again to the *Palais Royal*, when I commu-
 nicated to Prince Lucien the result of my visit to
 the minister of Police; it was now that I learned
 from the Prince the particulars which I have just
 stated. A day or two passed without any thing
 fresh transpiring.

The Minister made no communication to me; the
 Prince observed the same silence; but it was not
 difficult for me to perceive, that he was inwardly
 agitated by something which he endeavoured to

conceal ; and that some obstacle had arisen in the way of the execution of a plan, from which he expected the salvation of France and that of his family.

The Duke of Otranto, still much more reserve, had not even allowed me to penetrate into the object of so many interviews and discussions, which led to nothing. I often then thought, that this minister either did not approve of the plan, which had just been decided on, or that he expected nothing favourable from it. Be that as it may, I always found him very reserve on this point.

At a subsequent period, when he explained himself openly to me, I was well convinced that he had never believed the sincerity of the project for the abdication of Bonaparte ; and nothing could better justify this opinion than the conduct observed by this Prince after the disaster of the army, and during the last moments of his stay in Paris. It is not forgotten, that he, even then, hoped still to retain, by the aid of popular passions, (which, on all sides, he put into a state of effervescence,) the power which he perceived he was on the eve of losing. The preservation of his existence, now menaced, was the only motive that could determine him, at the approach of the enemy, to make a sacrifice, which, had it been made some weeks earlier, might, perhaps, yet have saved France. At length, after some days of uncertainty (but which appear-

ed necessary, in order to prepare the dispatches, which were about to be entrusted to me) during which, he uniformly regretted, in fact, the resolution into which, he has since pretended, he was ensnared by perfidious councils, he formally declared, "that he should revoke this first resolution; that he would not abdicate; and that, for the future, he would confide himself to the fate of battles."

It was two days previous to the departure of Bonaparte for the army, when Prince Lucien, after having explained to me the cause of the delay, which had been experienced, in regard to my journey, informed me, positively, that every thing was broken off; that the "Emperor had fled from all his promises, and sacrificed to mistrust, and to his pride, the State, his family and himself." Whatever was the just resentment that Lucien, bore, at that time, towards his brother, he has since shewn that he sacrificed it, in not separating his destiny from that of Bonaparte. I do not pretend, in relating this fact, either to blame or justify his conduct. In thus doing, he was, no doubt, actuated by conscience, his natural generosity, and, perhaps, his duty.

As it is impossible to pronounce on the political conduct of men in every thing which is not comprised in the immutable rules of honour, otherwise than by the relations which exist between this con-

duct and our own principles; the last measures of Prince Lucien in the chamber of Peers, and in that of the representatives; his inseparable attachment to a cause, which he, himself, considered lost, might necessarily be expected to expose him to the most severe, and the most opposite reflections; but, after all, was it for him, who had braved the menaces of Bonaparte when all-powerful, to betray the confidence of Bonaparte when in misfortune? I do not think it; and perhaps every man will find at the bottom of his soul the solution of this problem, which partakes not less of morality than of policy.

A last feature will, perhaps, determine the uncertainty of those of my readers, in whose opinion the conduct of Lucien has not been sufficiently explained by the preceding reflections. I do not pretend to draw the public opinion after me, but I ought to omit nothing that can enlighten it.

The departure of Buonaparte for his head-quarters, was the news of Paris. On the morning of the 13th June, I waited upon Prince Lucien some hours after this departure. He was sitting in deep meditation. He did not, at first, hear me, and remained for some moments in the same posture; when, at last, perceiving me, he arose, came up to me, and said, in a very firm and expressive tone, "Well, you see he is gone." I made no reply but by a shake of the head, which he appeared perfectly well to understand;

then, after a short silence, and as we were walking at a good pace in his Cabinet, "A few days," said he to me, "will decide great events." "Whatever may be their nature," I answered, "they will possess nothing encouraging for us; if the Emperor is vanquished, France is enslaved; if victorious, tyranny will follow victory." "I think with you," replied Lucien, without hesitating, "and in this latter case I shall, perhaps, be again compelled to banish myself; but what does it signify, we are Frenchmen, and let whatever may happen, all our wishes ought to be for the triumph of France."

It was impossible for me to doubt the sincerity of this avowal. I had it from himself, that already, in many circumstances, (to one of which it has been seen, I was not a stranger), warm altercations had arisen between him and Buonaparte, and no longer permitted it to be doubted, that a reconciliation, which had but one honorable motive—the misfortunes and fall of a brother, who had invariably loaded him with the weight of his tyranny—was again on the point of being interrupted. And even if it be true, as I have before said, that the political interests of his house had influenced the last determinations of Prince Lucien: convinced, moreover, as he was, either that the system of Buonaparte was changed, or that, in the new situation in which he was about to find himself placed, he would be constrained, by the public opinion, not to depart from the constitutional line which

the national will, would have pointed out to him—what man, putting himself in his place, and judging of his affections by his own, could be more severe towards him than he would be towards himself?

Since Lucien Buonaparte has appeared to become the object of the attention of the Allied Powers, my conscience and honor more particularly impose on me a duty, in the cause of justice and of truth, to publish the fact which I have just related; if its results only are considered, it has but little importance in itself, for the rapidity with which events succeeded each other at that epoch, did not allow it to possess any; but it could not be destitute of that kind of interest which attaches itself to personages occupying a place in history, and to all that is extraordinary.

In speaking of the period when Lucien seconded, with the greatest devotedness, the projects of Bonaparte, it is particularly interesting to relate what, at that time, were his own opinions, and what were the fears which he entertained for himself. No one had believed more sincerely than himself, from the moment of his return to France, in the possibility of founding a Government truly constitutional; and although the hopes he had entertained daily diminished, they were, nevertheless, not extinct. This illusion, of which I never partook for a moment, had been for a long while, on his part, as natural as pardonable.

I venture to say more : it would not have been in my power to remain the friend of him whom I should have considered the accomplice in the tyrannical projects of Buonaparte ; in no case, the cause and the interests of the man, whose presence, and the violation of treaties, had just brought fresh misfortunes on France, could become mine ; it would not have been less difficult for me to forget imprisonment, exile, and the last persecutions which I owed to his hatred, and of which all the friends of wise liberty partook with me. It will, therefore, be evident to every candid mind, that had I not found all my own ideas in those of Prince Lucien, every confidential relation between us would have been immediately broken off ; thus, at the moment when I saw the first popular movements manifest themselves, I considered it a duty to discontinue my visits to the *Palais Royal*. This conduct was the necessary consequence of my principles, from which I have never departed.

Since I have spoken of the animosity which Bonaparte bore to the enlightened friends of liberty, I shall here make an observation, which will not be destitute of interest : it is, that there was, in this respect, more connexion between the system of tyranny established in 1794, by the Decemvirs of the Committee of Public Safety, and that of the last years of the Imperial Government, than what will be readily thought. Whoever has well studied the character of Bonaparte must acknowledge that, in all parties, the

most exaggerated opinions were uniformly preferred by him; notwithstanding his government, and even himself, appeared to follow, in the interest of their preservation, other principles. Thus, in the first period of his consulship, he expressed himself with disdain, and often, even with contempt, on that which he called the pusillanimity of those émigrants, who did not quit France until terror had rendered it uninhabitable, and scarcely ever shewed himself inflexible against those, who having never given him any personal offence, had been invariably armed against France.

He was guided by the same system in the judgment which he formed of the men who had embraced republican ideas; even in intimidating, in repulsing with obstinacy, in proscribing even such of those men as had adopted these ideas with a high degree of enthusiasm, he gave to them an exclusive preference of opinion, and considered them as only possessing sufficient intelligence and boldness for well comprehending and supporting his systems. His natural sense, more powerful than the prejudices of his policy, exhibited them to him as the necessary elements of his government; thus, and almost contrary to his own will, did he call them to his defence, from the moment when the means, on which he had so often calculated, all at once failed, and when the national opinion appeared to have for ever abandoned him.

If, in the time of his full glory and power, he had frowned on those dangerous friends, whose support would have soon become more fatal to him than had ever been their hatred : if he had thought proper, at different epochs, to treat them with a degree of rigour which was never necessary, in order to conciliate himself with the opposite party, (whose devotedness appeared to him to be without bounds, only because their degradation was also unbounded, as has been their ingratitude since their fall) : it is important to remark, that his discerning policy never sacrificed altogether this revolutionary *arriere-ban*, which, perhaps, he convoked without success, only because time failed him !

The Allies were but a few days march from Paris, when the President of the Government Commission requested me to repair to London, and to wait on the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, for whom he would entrust me with dispatches of the most important nature ; but the rapidity of events rendered useless this journey, to which were attached a crowd of circumstances of the highest interest, which, until now, are unknown except to a very small number of persons, but of which it is impossible for me, from considerations, which I may hereafter develope, to give an account at this moment. The Duke of Wellington was, at that time, at once a Minister of the Cabinet, General, and Plenipotentiary ; with him only

was it possible to negociate, and he was at the gates of Paris.

I have just said a word on that Chamber of Representatives of 1815, which will for a long time be so ill appreciated in France ; so differently judged of in Europe ; and in which were uselessly assembled so many talents, noble minds, generous efforts, but which, unable to establish union within itself, found it utterly impossible to create it in the State.

All the parties which for twenty-eight years had been formed in France, were represented in this assembly, with the exception, perhaps, of that whose influence now besieges the throne, and may instantly possess itself of the Government. It even there found a man who had courage enough to make a profession of faith, since very ill rewarded. Whilst the Foreign Ministers, the one even of the Power which most actively interested itself for the re-establishment of the House of Bourbon, openly avowed that their respective Sovereigns acknowledged the right of the French People to give to themselves a Government of their own choice, the General, who commanded the troops of that Power, secretly signified, but in a magisterial tone, and in the most decisive manner, to the Magistrates charged with the Provisional Government, " that the re-establishment of that house was the

“ only social order which the Allies judged suitable to the repose of France and of Europe.” The only reasonable compact, that which would have certainly been adopted, had it been proposed as the expression of the national wish, and of which I have before spoken, was rejected and proscribed by one of those ill-digested and impassioned steps, of which the convention had so frequently furnished the example.

But how could the voice of reason cause itself to be heard in the midst of the roar of cannon, which resounded from all parts, and since the most exaggerated opinions were those only which appeared to be popular ? This situation of the assembly, which was sometimes favourable for the display of oratory, was also the cause why it produced nothing useful.

In the actual situation of affairs, nothing could be done but to make concessions, but to negotiate, but to debate in silence, and it is in this that the great assemblies, those especially which are governed by imperious passions, and deeply rooted resentments, become in every great public crisis, much more dangerous than useful.

The Assembly which had just openly united itself with the army, which had sent some deputies to it, and which, by a very noble, but a very ill-advised motive, perhaps, would not hear of any capitulation, did not sufficiently feel, that by the extra-

gance of its resolution, it would alienate from it the persons of property of all classes, and the moderate men of all parties. After the long military dictatorship of Bonaparte, and the loss of the Battle of Waterloo, no longer was any thing popular in France but peace. Thus, even in paying the most sincere homage to the sentiments, eminently French, entertained by those who, after the capitulation of Paris, opposed themselves, with the greatest warmth, to the conditions of this treaty, I still remain convinced that there was no other means of saving France from a general conflagration, and of preserving to her the wreck of that brave and unfortunate army, which, in spite of itself, it was necessary to save.

I have invariably defended in this respect the Duke of Otranto against an opinion which has always appeared to me as severe as unjust. I saw him, at that time, every day, and no one was better than myself in the situation to appreciate the expansion and the wisdom of his views. Placed in one of the most difficult circumstances in which a Statesman ever found himself, it was impossible for him not to be accused by those, even, for whose safety he was then occupying himself.

Thus, in this circumstance, as in almost all those which so frequently occur in great political conflicts, this Minister was necessitated to defend himself without recrimination. I have the firm conviction, that

I never shall bring over to my sentiment any of those of my contemporaries, whose opinion is already formed; but the open expression of the truth cannot fail to have some weight with those who do not pronounce with precipitation, and who judge not public characters on popular reports. (a)

The troops of the different Allied nations—English, Russians, Prussians, Austrians, occupied Paris, and bore down all France, but they weighed on her differently: public misfortunes were at their climax; nevertheless, some of them were only temporary, whilst others embraced the future. Amongst the Allies, some, no doubt, more especially oppressed us with the weight of temporary occupation; but others, under more mild, and less exacting forms, prepared, from that period, in the midst of fêtes, the progressive ruin of our industry, of our manufactures, and of our credit.

The secret enemies of France manifested them-

(a) From the moment I wrote this, up to its publication, I avow that my ideas on that which was done at the epoch of which I am now speaking, have undergone considerable modifications; nevertheless, convinced as I am, that it is much less a question to bring back, to minds, too justly soured, days of misfortune and humiliation, than to efface them, if it were possible, from our recollection, I shall abstain at this time, from recurring to this melancholy part of our history. The period may arrive when the considerations which at present deter me, shall either cease to exist, or shall lose a part of their importance.

selves at the same time, the most decided supporters of the House of Bourbon. From that moment it was easy to see that a system existed, which tended to place the nation in declared opposition to the Government, in order that the one might be destroyed by the other, and all reconciliation be rendered more and more impossible, by the excess of the rigorous measures which were preparing against France. At this epoch, that minister of the King was changed, whose inconceivable want of foresight had just given to us the Chamber of Deputies of 1815, and, with it, all the exaggerations, all the violences, with which the successors of this ministry, not less imprudent than their predecessors, had, for so long a time, rendered themselves the too submissive executors.

If we should judge from the results which were produced by this system of blood, which is exclusively to be attributed to the policy of some foreign statesmen, and into which Providence has permitted so many Frenchmen to be drawn, never was a plan of destruction better conceived, or better executed. The proscription pronounced against every one who had, since 1789, professed simply an opinion in favour of liberty, every day acquired additional strength by the convocation of the Chamber of Deputies of 1815. With the exception of some new comers, and of some adherents in the interior, who called themselves Frenchmen, by ex-

cellence, there were not in France, in the estimation of these last, any but revolutionists and Bonapartists. All the illusions of men of candour, who, like myself, had believed that the Government would have sufficient strength, wisdom, foresight, and knowledge of its own interests, to avert any system of reaction and of violence, were very shortly dissipated. Some ministers, in the intention of maintaining themselves, or, perhaps, as I have elsewhere said, (and as it is not impossible to suppose it) in that of preventing still greater evils, appeared to partake of the delirium and of some of the fury of the reaction which was rising into existence. From that time, there was no longer an asylum against this reaction, and blood flowed in all parts. Armies of spies were spread all over France ; families were divided ; denunciations flew in all directions ; the prisons opened themselves ; the scaffolds emptied them ; and France, with the exception of some of the forms of terror, was about to exhibit the odious scene of 1793.

It was a great happiness, that a minister, whose first errors may be excused by the violence of the times, and who has discovered himself by his talents, the elevation of his mind, and the natural moderation of his character, to be unworthy to act as an instrument in so many excesses, had early perceived the frightful consequences of a system, which, for a

moment, it was allowable to consider him as the supporter. Alarmed himself at the extent of the powers, with which the predominant faction had just invested him, with acclamation, he hastened to combine moderation with the exercise of this power ; and no body has forgotten the last words of justice and clemency, which it was permitted to him only at that time to pronounce, that fell from his lips.

A circular letter modified almost all the powers of the law, to the point of exciting against the minister the most lively acclamations on the part of the faction ; and, for the first time, since the convocation of the Chambers of 1795, a wish of humanity emanated from the most formidable ministry, resounded, and carried with it into all the provinces a feeble hope that was not destined to be realized for a long time afterwards. Happy France, if this wish had not been again too frequently extinguished by a faction, whose influence no less daily increased from the names of its chiefs and future hopes, than from the excess of those who were interested in respecting it, and from the imbecility of the means by which it was combatted.

It was about this time that we had the news of the death of King Joachim, or, rather, of one of the most execrable assassinations, the details of which

were never made public. I knew nothing of this event but as it was communicated to me from Naples, after the death of this Prince. Here are the particulars which were transmitted to me:—

The King, always prepossessed with the idea that he should re-ascend a throne, on which he could not maintain himself when he was at the head of a numerous and faithful army; that his subjects were accustomed to his power and to his name; and that all the authorities were submissive to him, had regularly kept up a communication with some persons, formerly the most eminent at his Court. Many letters, which he had recently addressed to them, had just fallen into the hands of the minister of Police. This minister made the most skilful, but the most odious use of this correspondence. He summoned the persons, to whom the letters were addressed, to appear before him, and told them, “ that King Ferdinand was never willing to doubt their devotedness to him, but that a circumstance had occurred, which would give them the opportunity of proving it in the most incontestible manner; that he held in his hands some letters which had been addressed to them by Murat; that these letters would greatly compromise their fidelity, if it could be imagined, that, subsequently to the departure of Murat, any correspondence had existed between him and them; that he would offer to them a very easy means to

“ free themselves from all suspicion on this head ;
 “ that it only remained for them to sign some let-
 “ ters which he was about to dictate to them ; and
 “ that a refusal on their part would infallibly involve
 “ their destruction.”

The correspondents of King Joachim, affrighted,
 consented to all that was exacted from them ; the
 letters were written and signed ; they contained the
 most pressing invitation to this unfortunate Prince
 “ not to lose a moment in embarking ;” he was
 assured, “ that a numerous party, powerful and
 “ devoted, expected him at Naples ; that he might
 “ exercise full confidence in the bearer of the dis-
 “ patches,” (it was the agent of the minister of the
 “ Police) “ that this man knew well on what part
 “ of the coast he could land with safety ; and that
 “ he might calculate on their zeal, &c.”

The letter, thus conceived, was delivered to the
 agent, of whom I have just spoken. This man ful-
 filled his mission with all the skill, and all the
fidelity, that were to be expected from him. He
 landed at Corsica, went and found the King, and,
 without much difficulty, insinuated himself into the
 confidence of this too credulous prince ; undertook
 himself the preparations for his departure ; and
 finished by conducting the expedition, which led
 him to death !

The right of the people ; the rights of humanity, of justice, and of honour ; the royal dignity with which Joachim had been vested, and which all Europe had acknowledged and revered in him, were violated altogether in his person. The Ministers of King Joachim had, without doubt, the right to arrest him, and detain him prisoner ; but he was King ; he had only lost his dominions. His judgment was a crime ; his death an assassination ; the impunity of which can never be justified, and from which the ministers of Ferdinand will never be able to clear themselves in the eyes of posterity.

Amongst the condemnations which daily succeeded each other in France, that of Marshal Ney, Prince of Moskwa, inspired the greatest indignation. When the Marshal had been brought before a Council of War, I exerted the greatest influence with the Duke of Castiglione (who was about to become one of his judges) to induce him to acknowledge the competence of the Council, as the only means, by condemning the Marshal to transportation, of saving his life, provided his enemies would not, in this case, have caused the judgment to be annulled, by insisting that a false application had been made of the law. The fear of this, with which the Duke was solely prepossessed, and the horror which he felt in condemning his ancient companion in arms, weighed with him more than any other con-

sideration, and determined him to vote for the incompetence of the Council, of which he was a member, without examining in what fatal consequences this resolution was on the eve of involving the Marshal.

In effect, the Prince of Moskwa, brought, very shortly afterwards, before the Court of Peers, was condemned to death. The hatred of some of his judges was, during the discussion of the melancholy affair, vented with such an atrocious imprudence, that the public, whose opinion was already loudly expressed against the horrible forms with which the judgment had been accompanied, received its result only with indignation. The explosion of this opinion had even inspired the authorities with fears sufficiently serious to determine them to direct the judgment to be executed in the middle of the garden of Luxembourg, instead of, as is customary, in the plain of Grenelle, where they had advice that numerous assemblages began to form themselves.

In spite of the precipitation observed in conducting the preparations for the execution of the unfortunate Marshal, sufficient shame was, nevertheless, preserved, to acknowledge how revolting it would be to stain with blood the Palace of the Peers. A regard to decency caused the first resolution to be

changed, and the Marshal was put to death, at ten paces from the railing, at the end of the great avenue, in front of the Palace !

I have long since said it ; I have endeavoured to restrain myself from all spirit of faction, in the various judgments which I have pronounced on the events, of which for eight and twenty years past I have been a spectator. I shall observe the same impartiality and moderation in the examination of a political question, which has always appeared to me of high importance, and which is eminently connected with the process against the Prince of Moskwa.

I have no doubt, if it was permitted to read the hearts of men, whom their misfortune condemns to live in the midst of revolutions, that the greater part of those, in all parties, whom we judge with so much rigour, would appear to be excusable, and often even be justified by their consciences.

Assuredly, the great majority of the Chamber of Peers, when it pronounced the sentence of death on Marshal Ney, did not believe themselves to be either unjust, barbarous, or even impassioned ; (a) their con-

(a) It is unnecessary here to mention, that I do not speak of those men who, tormented with vile and cruel remembrances, partake

science was, no doubt, governed by very natural, very praise-worthy, and very just opinions, for men who live under a regular Government, approved by the times, surrounded by confidence, which has not been shaken by any commotion, where the power of the Monarch is unanimously recognised, and where, consequently, fidelity to his person ought to be considered as the first duty.

But when, after twenty-eight years of discord, of anarchy, of combats, the state is divided : when opinions are balanced : when accustomed, almost every year, to see its institutions, and the heads of its Government, changed : the nation, composed of almost a new generation, does not attach either sense or respect to those magic words, before which, the Government dares to constrain it to prostrate itself all on a sudden : is it not, then, to pretend to an impossibility, to desire to bring it back in one day to ideas which are become altogether foreign ? I do not hesitate in believing it, and I affirm, that if the public opinion is so loudly proclaimed against the judgment which has condemned Marshal Ney, it is to the cause of which I have just spoken, that this severity must be especially attributed.

of all the prevailing exaggerations, because they see in them the means of preserving a political existence, acquired at the expense of so much baseness.

The immense majority of France, the whole army, have only seen in the treason imputed to him a consequence of the difficulty, of the fatality, of the times, and of the extreme versatility of character. Every one, at the bottom of his soul, would have pardoned an error, of which he felt he himself might have become culpable under the same circumstances. Humanity makes a more powerful appeal to the heart of man than the law, especially when the law is applicable only to political actions ; but the Judges are not permitted to be thus influenced : their own opinion is no longer any thing when the law speaks : and, in this case, they ought never be made responsible for its severity.

In the process of the trial of the Marshal, the facts were established, and the law was susceptible of no interpretation. The Government are, therefore, only to be accused of excessive rigour. They ought to have buried in everlasting oblivion all the faults committed against them, and which appertained much more to the times than to the persons. The Government, which by a step, as cruel as impolitic, delivered to public hatred, (in placing them in those tribunals of exception, of which it was then so prodigal,) a crowd of civil or military magistrates, who had often no other faults but that of accepting functions which the state of their fortunes scarcely ever permitted them to refuse.

No other impulse than truth dictates these reflections, the only object of which is to assign to facts, already placed at a distance from us, (and which, no doubt, will never more be re-produced), the true causes to which they may be attributed. Had the French Government had the courage to hear truth, it could not have been ignorant that it is not always pleasing, and that it is impossible, above all, for it to be so in retracing an epoch which, altogether odious as it is, does not the less belong to history.

The most important lessons of the future, consist in the remembrance of the past, and it would be impossible for the author of these memoirs, whatever may be his opinion of persons, whose errors he has deplored, in estimating their character, to change facts known to all Europe, and attested by so many particular misfortunes. His hatred, his profound contempt, for every thing that should resemble a libel; the well authenticated profession of faith which, in this respect, he has made in the advertisement which he has placed at the head of the first volume of this work, render any fresh justification of his intentions superfluous; nevertheless, he feels the necessity of incessantly recurring to this profession.

He has never been ambitious of that shameful celebrity which is acquired at the expence of truth, honor, and delicacy; but he will not, in the least, yield to con-

siderations of personal interest. He believes that he has sufficiently well proved this in recent circumstances, of which it is not yet time to render an account, but which he will one day undertake to do. Duty cannot extend itself beyond that which is possible.

A writer, who ought to say nothing that is not true, is sometimes obliged to abstain from saying all that is true ; and this is the misfortune and the imperfection of all contemporary historians. Nothing, however, shall be lost ; what is to-day omitted, will one day fill its place ; but to require more, will be considered great injustice. There are limits, which even the most devoted courage ought not to violate, and revelations, which cannot be made before the time shall arrive, when truth shall not be considered seditious. The impediments and the obstacles which have been, at every moment, experienced in this work, have rendered this explanation almost as necessary equally for the author as for his readers ; it is for the second time he has recurred to it, and it shall be the last.

I here terminate the third part of my memoirs, to which, doubtless, I shall not delay to furnish a sequel, which is indispensable to it. It will explain the motives of my stay at Paris during the years 1815 and 1816 ; the mode of existence which I was there constrained to adopt ; the reasons which compelled me to renounce it, and, in fine, those of my departure from

France, and of my journey into the Netherlands and Germany. I will conceal nothing; for my only regret, my regret has ever been, that all my proceedings, without making a single exception, have not been invariably exposed to public view; I can, on this point, attest friendship, and I defy all kind of prejudices.

During the three months since which I again left France; I have been honoured with such illustrious proofs of confidence, and I have received such confidential and flattering testimonies of interest and of esteem, that I owe to those who have honoured me with them, some information which has been so often asked of me on the actual situation of France, and on which I have hitherto been obliged to express myself only with an extreme reserve, which is not always, even with intentions the most honourable, and the most loyal, the certain means to free one's self from persecution, and to preserve repose.

In every part of Europe, the highest importance is attached to the solution of those questions which have ceased to possess any local interest, and on which, in some manner, depends the fate of the whole European Civilization. "Is the stability of order, as it actually exists in France, settled on a sure basis? What are the causes which threaten its stability?"

Certainly, I shall abstain from answering, as would do the French Ministers, (and I here speak only of those amongst these Ministers, who have just rights to the esteem and to the confidence of the Nation) “ that the national spirit of France is in favour of legitimacy” (taken in the sense which has been given to it by the emigrants, for twenty-eight years past, and such as is daily understood and defined by the writers of that party,) “ and that, if they were compelled to abandon the reins of administration, their system would survive their retreat.” These are some of the high sounding words which, when they are stripped of that species of magic, which they contract in passing from ministerial mouths, present no sense, and leave, in all its force, the argument to which it was thought they were a reply. All discussion becomes useless when evidence answers every thing ; I shall, therefore, limit myself to the narration of truths.

It is known to Frenchmen, and to Foreigners, first, “ that the national spirit in France, is not in favour of legitimacy,” because France is desirous of preserving all the revolutionary interests (a) of which this legitimacy (which I continue always to

(a) It is proper, notwithstanding the extreme susceptibility of some writers, to call things by their right name.

explain in the sense which the exclusive faction attaches to it,) tends to despoil it. (b) In the second place, "that if the ministers were compelled to "abandon the reins of the administration, their "system would not survive their retreat," because, unfortunately, no body is ignorant that the King is the only one of his family, who preserves the conservative principles of the constitutional monarchy on which this system is founded; that, in the opposite system, the opinions of the Hereditary Presumptive Heir to the Throne are not less pronounced, nor less known; (c) that, Madame carries her opinions to a

(b) I formally protest that in this, it is not the intentions of the King, or of his Government, of which I pretend to speak; this declaration may even seem superfluous: the acts of Government will reply to all.

(c) I protest that no consideration, no motive, no political interest, influence these opinions. I have not the honour to know any of these Princes, nor probably to be known by them; I express, in throwing light, perhaps, on some of these variations, a opinion which more and more becomes European. A revolution will commence in France, the day when it shall be thought that the Constitutional laws are violated, and that their spirit is despised; and let us not be deceived; it will be believed from the moment in which the care of executing them shall be confided to those, who were always as much by interest, as by opinion, the irreconcilable enemies of the principles on which these laws are founded. It may, here, with propriety be said, with the Apostle, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

degree of extravagance, so much the more dangerous, inasmuch as they are maintained by all the force of her character and of her animosities ; and that, in respect to opinions and principles, the Duke de Berry must be considered as of very little consequence. All hopes, therefore, can only be placed in the Duke d'Angoulême ; and I will avow it, without hesitation, that this prince has an elevated mind, just views, upright intentions, when he feels, when he thinks, when he acts, according to the dictates of his own mind ; but who is not informed of the excess of his distrust in his own understanding ; and of the unlimited deference which he pays to those persons, by whom he is more immediately surrounded ? Who does not know, in one word, that, in the event of Monsieur, the Duke D'Angoulême, or the Duke de Berry, ascending the throne, it will, in effect, be Madame who will sit on it ? And if this fact, which I have not yet heard contested, is unanimously granted, (2) what are the means of se-

(a) It is much less a question to seek here, as in the greater part of important political events, the causes which have produced those events, than the effects which have resulted from them. Public opinion is raised against the dangerous system in which the emigrants of 89, more and more involves the family of the King. This opinion, which resounds from all parts of France, without, nevertheless, appearing to have yet penetrated into some of the apartments of the Chateau of the Thuilleries, is, by the re-union of all the revolutionary interests, so imprudently menacing the future, become so powerful,

curity on which the ministers might confidentially rely ? They cannot, on the one part, be ignorant how little Madame has succeeded in pleasing the French, when great qualities, and so many august and afflicting recollections, which blend themselves with her name,

that, notwithstanding the wisdom of the Prince, (who takes the greatest care to protect them, although, unfortunately, unable to go beyond the limits of the present,) it may sooner or later bring a-fresh on Europe all the calamities from which she has but just escaped, by entertaining, as I have elsewhere said, in the middle of France, a *Vulcano*, always burning with effervescence and troubles, of which the irruption, incessantly eminent, might, by emblazoning all on a sudden, this Kingdom, spread the flame on all those which surround it.

This must be said, without warmth, but without a pusillanimous reserve, since the fate of so many states is involved in the expression of this truth : the progress of evil has become so frightful ; the opinion of the immense majority of the French, is so openly declared on the projects of a faction, without real strength, it is true, if it were abandoned to itself, but all powerful from the presumed support of foreign bayonets, and from the name of the French Princes that any return to confidence is become almost impossible. And, how can this be otherwise, when, far from rejecting the fatal honour which this faction pretends is ordained to them, and constantly armed against the generous intentions of the Monarch and his authority, the Princess themselves, as much by their own acts, as by the exclusive protection which they afford to a culpable opposition, appear proud to avow themselves its head. I repeat with a sentiment of deep grief, that the motives of a distrust, too just, must not elsewhere be sought. This distrust has, for three years, and for ever, succeeded the enthusiasm of the first expectations ; these motives are unknown to no one, unless, perhaps, to those whose fatal blindness

and with her misfortunes, would have rendered this success so easy for her ; nor, on the other, how much they are themselves personally suspected by this Princess. The Ministers have often declared,

has prepared them, and continues them : for I cannot bring myself to believe, that the silly persons, whose eyes experience and misfortune have not yet been able to open, have measured all the depth of the abyss into which they precipitate themselves and us !

The Sovereigns of Europe have, by living in the midst of us, but too well judged, for a long time, the causes of our past disasters; their discerning wisdom has not less observed the dark clouds which already obscure the future. But, in endeavouring to diminish by all the means which was at their disposal, the weight of the evils by which France is born down, it was beyond their reach to exercise on the mind, and on the reason of Princes, any other power than that of persuasion. Thus, after having made the most constant, but the most fruitless efforts, to give to the conduct of these Princes, a direction more conformable to the national wish, (expressed by the acts of the Chambers, and sanctioned by the King) and to the interest of their dynasty : placed now in the painful alternative of betraying their thoughts, of ceasing to fulfil their engagements, or of prolonging, ad infinitum, the painful agony of France ; these Monarchs, always most faithful to their noble character, no longer explained themselves on our internal contentions but by their silence.

If by an excess of severity, or of circumspection, some of my readers should disapprove of the publicity, which I give to the causes of the evils of France, I would reply, with the noble confidence of a friend of his oppressed and unfortunate country, that it is in times of calamity, that every citizen becomes a magistrate to defend his country ; when silence is a crime ; when the knowledge of any truth, of which the public are ignorant, might become the last means of salvation ; when every one must render an account to himself, for

that they would retire of themselves, satisfied with having done their duty, and served the King with fidelity.

Nothing would be more honourable for them, without doubt, ; but I do not see in this voluntary abrogation any advantage for France ; on the contrary, I see in it, that, after having placed by the side of a great number of correct ideas, certain doctrines, the effects of which will not delay to be developed, extended, and commented upon by their enemies, from the moment, (too near at hand, perhaps,) when, by making

what he has omitted to do for the benefit of his country. And, if it is permitted to me, in the midst of so many high considerations, to place one amongst them, to myself personal, I will call to mind all the hopes, which, on the faith of the most sacred promises, I, for the first time, felt, and with which I was inspired, at the second return of the Bourbons, who proclaimed forgetfulness of all the remembrances of the revolution. (Forgetfulness which I had no reason to invoke for myself, but which could only reconcile them to the French.) I will avow it, that it is only to the solemnity of these promises, that I have made the sacrifice of fears, which I had so long, and so justly, entertained respecting the event which has restored this house to France. The open, and, perhaps, courageous manner in which I have explained myself in this respect, in the first volume of these memoirs, renders it unnecessary for me to enter into any new developments ; moreover, whatever may be the issue of so many errors and crimes ; whatever may be the blindness and the injustice with which the extravagant parties will not fail to judge of my opinions and of my conduct, the cause of my error was too noble for me to find in it a single motive of repentance, or of accusation against myself.

themselves masters of the authority, (a) they shall have attained the period of all their expectations, the Ministers will be compelled to acknowledge, but too late, that, by maintaining some abstract ideas, (the discussion of which there was not, even under the most absolute Monarchs, boldness enough to undertake), they will, by losing themselves, lose France.

And it was under such circumstances; it was not long since, when the health of the King of France occasioned serious alarms to the true friends of the country, that the Ministers, with an assurance which I cannot characterise by any expression, complained that confidence did not quickly enough increase; that disquietude was not sufficiently calmed; that the future did not present itself in the most consoling perspective! I respect their intentions, to which I am disposed to do justice; but is not the excess of such a zeal indiscreet? Do they seriously expect to

(a) It will be objected to me, that there exist laws on elections, &c.; but who can be ignorant that the triumphant party never considers as obligatory the laws made by the vanquished party, and that, in France, in particular, each victorious faction draws in its train a new legislation. Is it not even already known, that a party, which it is useless to name, had thought of limiting the provisions of this law by royal ordonnances, and that the idea was conceived of re-assembling the last dissolved Chamber, in order to submit to it all the modifications which should be added to it. Every thing, however announced, that, for once, a wise policy prevailed over the passion of a heinous and turbulent minority.

overcome our reason ? Have we not the right to ask them, whether they feel the same security themselves with which they endeavour to inspire us ? They demand confidence, but by what means do they pretend to implant it in our breasts ?

If the King were to die ; if he were to fall so seriously ill, as to be unable to occupy himself with the affairs of the State ; if his will were to change, the whole of the ministerial edifice would, in one moment, be destroyed. If only one of the Ministers, on whom the majority of the Council reposes, were to die, or to retire, the constitutional majority would be immediately lost ; the opposite faction would triumph, and all the measures of Government would take a new direction ; for who will ever believe that the party, who has uniformly combated all ideas favourable to liberty, and to the establishment of a constitutional system, would, with sincerity, adopt those ideas ?

Who will not rather believe that, by a *ruse-de-guerre*, this party, always vanquished under its own colours, would, for once, attempt to conquer under those of its adversaries ? And, although I have exposed so many causes of destruction, I have not yet spoken of our finances—of that cancer, which devours our social existence, extends itself daily, and, of itself, will be sufficient to accomplish our ruin.

The Ministers demand confidence; but let them say, at least, on what reasonable ground it is possible for them to ask it? Let them allow a ray of hope to break through upon us! There are in the hearts of men by far fewer hateful sentiments than is supposed; but past misfortunes have left every where the germ of the most fatal distrust for the future.

It is not, as has been said with much more wit than truth, the legitimacy which is for life; it is the existence, even, of the country; it is the French body politic; it is the national independence, which are threatened, and to which less attention is paid than to the chase, balls, and funeral services. (a)

Aside from the Government, all is faction, (b) and each faction now sees in the country nothing but it.

(a) One single expiation was necessary and politic. It was, no doubt, important for the national honor, to unite all the griefs of families and the mourning of France, around the coffin of the best of men, and of the most unfortunate of Kings, for once; but what impartial and just mind has not seen the danger of incessantly renewing these funeral recollections, which are only adapted to excite resentments, to stir up the passions, and again to place the parties in a state of war? And what family has not had tears to shed in the midst of our calamities.

(b) Has not the Government itself been too long a time governed by a faction, which it raises or sinks, in the proportion that it believes itself to be more or less menaced by it? but which it will certainly not be in its power to destroy, because the strength of this faction is independent of itself. This has elsewhere been explained.

self, because, all equally despair of the salvation of the State. The sad, but inevitable result of the care, which has been taken, during one entire year, to torment all opinions, all interests, all beings; to banish the best citizens; to penetrate to the bottom of hearts, in order there to find a sentiment, of which a crime has invariably been made, when, in the eyes of the rulers, it was only necessary to be reported criminal, or to be more or less suspected of not approving, without exception, all the excesses which became the symbol of the faith of the day.

The imagination wearies in bringing to mind so many grievous recollections; but how can an answer be given, but by the exhibition of past evils, and of those still greater, which the future announces, to those who ask, why confidence does not again spring up? Their intentions are to themselves, and are not accused; but their public principles, their acts, belong to France and to Europe, and every one has a right to judge them.

It is afflicting to see enlightened and honorable men, delivered up to errors, of which the cause might be as noble as their effects are fatal, defend and proclaim doctrines, rejected equally by reason and the circumstances of the times. It is still more grievous to see them unite themselves, in this enterprise, with the oppressive projects of a Government, to the sincerity of which I confess I have too long given

credit, and whose insidious policy it is highly necessary not to confound with the well-known sentiments of this generous and great people, expressed by the opposition with so much perseverance and energy, and on which the imprudent or perfidious Ministers vainly endeavoured again to deceive the opinion of Europe.

It is, above all, when I speak of that noble England, that I feel imperiously called on not to give room for any false interpretation to be put on my sentiments, and not to permit myself to confound (even though I feel myself more than ever authorised to accuse the British Ministry with the evils which bear down France) the policy of this Ministry, with the opinion of the English Nation, which does not, in the slightest degree, identify itself with that policy.

Moreover, why should this be astonishing, when, after the most solemn declarations, the British Government violated the principles proclaimed by its minister at Vienna, relative to the affairs of France, in the public written document, which is known to all Europe. Has the Government, in this respect, acted otherwise in circumstances, which are yet present in all recollections, towards some other governments of Europe, and towards its own country ? Does not the universal cry which is raised against it, from one extremity of the Continent to the other, prove to what point the universal system of tyranny

and domination, which it appears to have adopted, is rejected by all states ? It is true, that a maxim, founded on an experience which has never been deceptive, should not less protect France and Europe than Great Britain herself : it is, “ that nothing unjust and violent can be durable.” A nation, which numbers in her representatives, a KENT, a SUSSEX, a WELLESLEY, an ERSKINE, a LAUDERDALE, a BEDFORD, a GREY, a HOLLAND, a GROSVENOR, a BROUGHAM, a TIERNEY, a PONSONBY, a MILTON, a ROMILLY, and many other illustrious personages, who have, invariably, combatted with equal courage, as well the excessive crimes of revolutionary anarchy as of Ministerial despotism : such a nation ought never to despair of its liberty. I venture to say more : these men espouse not the cause of Great Britain only ; they espouse that of general humanity, which has been committed to them, and which they reclaim. They are not less the supporters of the liberty of their own country, than the guaranty of that of the world, since, in effect, notwithstanding the acknowledged imperfection in its representation, the Parliament of England is the only place where liberty still finds organs worthy of her.

If, wishing to observe a silence, which I shall hereafter break, on the causes which constrained me to quit France, and to go into the Netherlands and Germany, in November 1816, I believe I ought to say a word about myself, in concluding this work, not

that I affix any value to the vain enjoyment of self-love. I am influenced by a nobler motive, and which, I venture to be certain of it, will not be disavowed by any body.

To make a sacrifice to an opinion, which one asserts, because believed to be the most useful to his country, is, undoubtedly, a great and rigorous duty ; but as the public esteem and confidence of those who have embraced our opinions, is, in this case, the only reward of this sacrifice, perhaps it will not be thought strange that he, who, in order to satisfy delicacy and honour, has not hesitated to resign himself to it, seeks, in these two advantages, the only reward of which he is sensible.

This situation is mine : a particular minister of the King, whose sentiments, principles, and political interests differ altogether from mine, could attest this ; and, if I have believed that, for the price of the noble conduct, which this minister observed towards me, when the most odious perfidy had just put into his hands the proofs of my wrongs towards him, my conscience obliged me to speak a language to him, which he has thought his permitted him not to hear ; I do not the less retain, in renouncing all that he was desirous of doing for me, and the employment which he had destined for me, the most profound gratitude for his generous intentions, and the most unalterable attachment to his person.

I have too openly attacked some of the acts of the first periods of his administration not to have acquired the right of rendering to his personal character, often forgotten, the most sincere homage which it merits, and which justifies the nature of his proceedings in reference to myself. If the ordinary destiny of ministers one day awaits him, these sentiments which I here express, and which are a stranger to all interest, and to every political party, will not change with his fortune.

P. S. The numerous events which have taken place since I finished, in Germany, this third part of my memoirs ; those which pass at the moment in which I write ; and which, in the actual state of affairs in the two worlds, are, in some manner, but the prelude to those which must follow them, decide me to continue this work, in which I am occupying myself to unite, in the order which circumstances shall permit, the facts which I have already announced.

I, the undersigned, having fulfilled all the formalities required by Law, relative to the Publication of this Work, do declare, that I will prosecute any Person who shall undertake to publish it without my authority.

Wm. Mackie.





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